DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 073 865 RC 006 815

AUTHOR Tait, John Lawrence
TITLE Power Structures by Issue Areas in Five Iowa Communities.
PUB DATE 70
NOTE 166p.; Doctoral dissertation submitted to the Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$6.58
DESCRIPTORS *Change Agents; *Community Change; Doctoral Theses; Leadership; *Power Structure; Research Needs; *Rural Areas; Social Change; *Social Systems
IDENTIFIERS *Iowa

ABSTRACT

The general objective of this dissertation was to study, observe, and analyze the phenomena of social power in 5 Iowa communities. The specific objectives were to define a social system model, a social power model, and the methodology used for the delineation of persons perceived to be power actors; to determine the extent to which the power actors were perceived to have social power in different issue areas in 5 communities; and to generate some suggestions and implications. The procedures for identifying the power actors involved 3 phases: (1) external community knowledgeables were interviewed, (2) internal community knowledgeables were interviewed, and (3) 92 power actors were interviewed with a formal field schedule. Major findings were that empirical data did not support the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area and that the data tended to support the hypothesis that community power structures were more polymorphic as the size of the community increased. Twelve suggestions for social scientists doing future power structure research were included, along with 7 implications for change agents. (PS)

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

ED 073865

POWER STRUCTURES BY ISSUE AREAS IN FIVE IOWA COMMUNITIES

by

John Lawrence Tait

RECEIVED
NOV 1 1971
NMSU
E.R.I.C.

A Dissertation Submitted to the

Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of

The Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Major Subject: Rural Sociology

Approved:

_____
In Charge of Major Work

_____
Head of Major Department

_____
Dean of Graduate College

Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa

1970

AC006815

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
THEORY AND HYPOTHESIS	5
Introduction	5
A Social System Model	5
Conceptions of Social Power	17
A Social Power Model	27
General Hypothesis	41
METHODOLOGY	49
Introduction	49
The Social Systems	49
Alternative Approaches to the Study of Social Power	51
Field Method and Procedure	57
Epistemic Correlations	62
ANALYSIS OF DATA	78
Introduction	78
Findings	78
Conclusion	115
DISCUSSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	124
Introduction	124
General Observations	125
Observations on General Hypothesis	133
Implications for Change Agents	145
SUMMARY	152
LITERATURE CITED	158
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	163

INTRODUCTION

Every community of the United States is constantly undergoing social change. In his book, The Community in America, Roland L. Warren (57) summarizes seven major changes which are affecting communities in our modern society. These major changes are: (1) increasing specialization or division of labor, (2) more special interest groups and associations, (3) increasing relationship of the local community to the larger society, (4) continued growth of bureaucracies, (5) transfer of functions from individuals to professional groups both public and private, (6) urbanization and suburbanization with an accompanying depopulation of rural areas, and (7) changing values and increased challenges to existing values.

The rapid advances in scientific and technological knowledge have provided communities with more efficient and effective means for initiating social change. In determining the direction which social change will take, the community is faced with decision-making which involves the adoption or rejection of new programs. The community in modern society copes with problems such as school reorganization, the delivery of health care, urban renewal, industrial development, air and water pollution, recreational development, crime and delinquency, race relations, and providing social services.

Among social scientists, there is consensus that the capability to influence the direction of social change in the community is not randomly distributed among members of the community. While a majority of the

members of a community may become actively involved in bringing about social change, a limited number of persons may participate in the crucial decision-making processes which determine the course of community action. These persons have been called power actors. The capability which power actors have to control the behavior of others has been referred to as social power.

Since the early 1950's, social scientists have completed numerous community social power studies. These community power studies have focused on various aspects of community leadership. One aspect has been whether a generalized power structure controls the decision-making process in most major community issues or whether specialized power structures control the decision-making for specific community issues such as school reorganization, the delivery of health care, urban renewal, industrial development, and pollution control.

In determining whether one generalized power structure or specialized power structures control the decision-making in major community issue areas, most social scientists have selected single communities for their studies. While the conclusions from some of these studies of single communities suggest that power structures in communities are generalized, other findings indicate that power structures are specialized or pluralistic. Simpson (50) suggested the need for social scientists to focus on comparative power studies in different communities rather than focus on more single community power studies. Miller (33) has suggested that one of the variables which is related to differences in power structures is community size.

These comments suggest that social scientists studying the extent to which power structures are generalized or specialized for major community issues in the future need to operationalize their theory in several communities. By operationalizing the same theoretical model in different sized communities, social scientists can determine whether power structures vary by community size.

One rationale for studying power structures in different issue areas in several communities is to seek additional findings which may add relevant truth claims and/or present new findings which will add to the existing body of knowledge about power structures in community social systems. A further rationale is to suggest additional areas for future research.

By virtue of their position in the community, key power actors are able to strongly influence most community decisions involving issues such as industrial development, recreational centers, hospitals, school reorganization, pollution control, and zoning. It is essential that change agents charged with the responsibilities of helping communities resolve these issues have a knowledge of and about these key power actors. Change agents concerned with the resolution of community-wide issues often include development workers, extension workers, educators, executive secretaries of chambers of commerce, ministers, and leaders of voluntary associations.

In addition to seeking out additional truth claims through a comparative study of power structures in several communities, a second rationale for this study in social power is generated from the need for

better knowledge and understanding of power structures in different issue areas by change agents. Change agents are constantly attempting to influence the community's leaders and members to adopt new goals and/or new means to achieve goals. Without the appropriate involvement of key power actors in decision-making on community issues, the change agent may fail in his attempt to initiate social change. If the change agent has a better understanding of community social power and the techniques for identifying the key power actors in different community issue areas, he may be in a better position to initiate social change.

The general objective of this dissertation is to study, observe, and analyze the phenomena of social power in five Iowa communities.

The specific objectives of this dissertation are to:

1. Define a social system model which is relevant to understanding social power and its relationship to the community.
2. Define a social power model which can be used to guide the study and analysis of power structures in five communities.
3. Define the methodology used for the delineation of persons perceived to be power actors and affect the decision-making processes of the five communities selected for the study.
4. Determine and compare the extent to which the power actors are perceived to have social power in different issue areas in five communities.
5. Generate some suggestions for future research in social power.
6. Generate some implications which will be of assistance in training change agents to fulfill their role.

THEORY AND HYPOTHESIS

Introduction

The general objective of this dissertation, as previously stated, is to study, observe, and analyze the phenomenon of social power in five communities. In order to achieve this general objective, it is essential that a theory of social power be constructed or chosen to guide this study. Through reviewing theory and research, the social scientist can delineate the ways that other social scientists have defined and conceptualized social power. This process is a tool through which the scientist can delineate and define relevant concepts. It may enable the scientist to develop a model.

The objectives of this chapter are to: (1) define a social system model; (2) review previous conceptions of social power; (3) define a social power model; and (4) generate the expected relationships among the concepts.

A Social System Model

The major objective of this dissertation is to analyze the relationship of social power in different issue areas in five communities. Social power is one of the elements of the complex community. In order to better understand community social power and the other elements of the complex community which are relevant for an understanding of the community, it would seem logical to place the phenomenon of social power in a larger theoretical frame of reference.

One framework which the social scientist may use as a tool to gain an understanding of the community is the theory of social systems. Loomis' (28) concept of the social system includes the element of social power. His theory of the social system will be presented in abbreviated form.

Definition of social system

The social system as defined by Loomis is composed of the patterned interaction of members. It consists of the interaction of a plurality of individual actors. The relations of the individual actors to each other are mutually oriented toward goal attainment through the definition of structured and shared symbols and expectations. Individuals participate in social systems for a multiplicity of reasons which may be summarized under the heading of a societal belief that individuals can maximize or optimize the attainment of certain kinds of goals more readily through concerted action in cooperation with their fellow men than they can by striving for these same goals as isolated individuals in direct competition with all others. Once individuals find themselves within the social system which comes into existence because of this choice, they become identified with goals and means which are not necessarily those of any one individual but of the social system itself. More will be said about this in the following discussion of the elements of the social system.

Within society there are many levels of social systems. The interaction of two people, the family, the church, the city, the community, the nation, and the United Nations are a few examples of social systems representing different levels. In each of these social systems individual

actors interact more with members than with non-members when operating to attain their objectives.

This dissertation is concerned with one type of social system, the local community. In those areas where the concept community is used, it is synonomous with social system. The social system consists of individual actors, families, businesses, industries, churches, service organizations, schools, athletic clubs, and many others. These sub-systems are integrated into the local social system--the community.

Although there are different levels of social systems, each social system has certain elements or attributes which are common to all social systems. The elements or attributes are presented and defined below.

Social system elements

These elements include 1) belief (knowledge); 2) sentiment; 3) end, goal, or objective; 4) norm; 5) status-role (position); 6) rank; 7) sanction; 8) facility; and 9) power. The structure and value orientation of a social system at a given time can be described and analyzed in terms of these elements.

In the empirical world these elements do not remain in a static form. The dynamic processes of the social system integrate, stabilize, and alter the relations through time. Thus, these elements can serve as tools for understanding the dynamic aspects of social systems.

Belief (knowledge) A belief is an individual actor's perception of the relationships that exist between phenomena within the universe. Phenomenon is used here in its broadest sense, i.e., something which can

be observed. Individual actors within any given social system usually perceive these relationships in a similar manner. Scientific knowledge differs from belief in that the relationships of the phenomena within the universe are observed according to rigorously established criteria commonly referred to as the scientific method. These relationships can be observed by men in different times and places in a similar manner.

Sentiment Sentiments are the normative feelings which are expressive and represent what the individual actor feels about phenomena in the world. Sentiments or feelings are closely related to beliefs. Beliefs are viewed as "what we know" about the world and sentiments are expressive and represent "what we feel" about the world. A sentiment is an individual actor's feeling about what the right, good, moral, or acceptable relationship between phenomena in the universe ought to be. Attitudes, or tendencies to act in relation to stimuli, are derived from the beliefs and sentiments of individual actors.

End, goal, or objective Ends, goals, or objectives are the changes which the actors of the social system strive to accomplish through appropriate interaction. The community may have certain goals which its members strive to achieve. These goals may include industrial development, an improved educational system, modern fire protection, a new recreational area, improved housing for slum districts, and other ends. Many of the community's goals are not explicitly defined and delineated; they may be referred to as maximizing happiness or "the good life."

Norm Norms are the standards which influence the range of goal choices and govern the selection and application of means in the attainment of these goals or ends. Norms determine the range of accepted actions within a social system. They set the framework within which the stated ideals (goals and ways of attaining same) will be achieved in the ongoing interaction process. It may be said that norms are the "rules of the game." In the typical community they are important criteria for judging the character and conduct of both the individual member and group actions although they may not be written rules, regulations, and laws.

In discussing the goals of social systems, the means that are appropriate for attaining these goals, and the norms which set the parameters of both, one may make the distinction between social systems which are voluntary and from which members can withdraw with ease and those systems in which individuals find themselves and also find it extremely difficult to withdraw from them. If one doesn't like the goals or the means used in attaining them in a social club, he can resign, but leaving one's family or leaving one's church or withdrawing from one's community is a different level of problem. Social power and the coercions resulting therefrom has its greatest influence on the lives of men through those systems wherein withdrawal or abandonment carries with it more severe social penalties.

Status-role (position) A status-role is a position and a set of expectations for an individual actor in a social system. These two terms (status and role) combine structure and function.

A status is a position in a social system. For example, the position of mayor is one of the status-roles of city government. Status describes the position of mayor in relation to other positions in the city government.

As the result of occupying a status, the individual is expected to act in certain specified ways and carry out certain functions in the maintenance of the social system of which he is a part. In formalized social systems roles are a function of status. In less formal systems the status of an individual often helps determine his role.

Rank Rank is the relative status of actors in a social system. In general, it may be said that any given social system prescribes ranks to the various members based upon their qualifications for attaining the system's goals, adhering to its norms, or upon their past achievements. The rank given the individual occupying the office of mayor may be determined in part by the status the community gives the office of mayor and the extent to which the mayor has performed the roles which the community expects him to play. In addition to ranking the individual as a mayor, the community may consider other status-roles which the individual is occupying. They may include family role, church affiliation, formal organization membership, and participation in informal groups. Thus, total rank in a social system such as a community may be dependent on many factors. At a slightly higher level of generality we may speak of the rank sub-systems (e.g., a formal organization) have in the larger social system (e.g., community).

Sanction Sanctions are the rewards and penalties which the social system uses to attain motivation and conformity to the goals, means, and norms of the system. Sanctions may be either positive or negative. The positive forms are rewards in the form of increased rank or privilege, praise, new opportunities, etc. The negative forms are punishments in the form of withdrawal of privileges, lowering of status, etc. The worst of social penalties is to be outcast--rejected by the system.

Facility Facilities are the means used by the social system to attain its goals. The means used include physical, financial, individual human, and social resources. One may consider interaction patterns, activities, and programs as means used by the system to attain its ends. Within the community there may be general consensus on the goals, but members may differ on the facilities or alternative means which are acceptable to achieve the goals.

Power Power is the capability to control the behavior of others. Power is divided into two components which include non-authoritative and authoritative control. Throughout this dissertation these two components will be referred to as influence and authority. Influence is that capability to control the behavior of others which is not formally designated in the authority component of the status-role. Authority is the capability to control the behavior of others as determined by the members of the social system. A more detailed discussion of social power will be presented later.

Social system processes

The social system model elements presented above tend to view a social system in a static form. This static model has utility in analyzing social systems. In reality the elements of the social system do not remain static for long. Each of the elements presented above may be viewed in its dynamic process, e.g., belief may be seen as a process of cognitive mapping and validation; ends or goal attainment may be seen as achieving; norms may be viewed as a process in evaluating; etc.

However, for the purpose of this dissertation the concept of master processes is important. Within each social system there are master processes which integrate, stabilize, and alter the relationships between the elements through time. As defined by Loomis each process is characterized by 1) a consistent quality of regular and uniform sequences and 2) is distinguishable by virtue of its orderliness. These master processes which integrate or involve several or all of the more specific elements are: communication, boundary maintenance, systemic linkage, socialization, social control, and institutionalization. To help clarify the elements of the community in a dynamic form, these master processes will be defined.

Communications Communication is the exchange of meaningful symbols among the actors within a social system. It is the process by which an individual transmits information, decisions, and directives to other members.

Boundary maintenance Boundary maintenance is the process by which the social system establishes and retains its identity, solidarity, and interaction patterns. It is the process by which members in the system and those outside the system are made aware of the identity and uniqueness of a given system. The boundary may be explicitly defined, e.g., political boundaries. The community as a social and economic entity often extends beyond the political boundary. Power actors in a rural town may affect policy of an area which includes the town and the surrounding trade or service territory. From this viewpoint, the boundary of the community may be implicitly defined.

Systemic linkage Systemic linkage is the process by which one social system relates itself to other social systems and interacts with these systems. In striving toward community goals, power actors may provide the link between the community and its sub-systems. More frequently than not, one of the major sources of social power at the community level is the widespread membership and influence of community power actors in the sub-systems of the community. Because of the communications and social control provided by these power actors in the relevant sub-systems, they become an integrated part of the total community's effort to achieve a community goal. For example, power actors implementing an industrial development program may provide the link between the newly created industrial development commission and the sub-systems of which they are a part. Community power actors who have positions of either

influence or authority or both in formal organizations may obtain support from the formal organizations for the industrial development program.

Socialization Socialization is the process through which the social and cultural heritage is transmitted. It is through this process that individual actors learn the sentiments, beliefs, ends, and norms, of a social system. For example, through the process of socialization younger community members aspiring to have social power in the future learn the roles which are expected to be played to become power actors. In the community there is a socialization process through which a person desiring to become a power actor must pass prior to obtaining a position of power in community affairs. The person desiring to obtain social power is expected to fulfill certain roles which may include participating in formal organizations, showing community interest, serving on community committees implementing action, being successful in a career, and participating in a church.

Social control Social control is the process by which the social system rewards and punishes its members. The elements of beliefs, sentiments, norms, power, and sanctions are interrelated in the process of social control in the community.

Power actors play an important role in the process of social control within the community. These persons having proportionately more power are in a position to give rewards for conformity to the community's norms. They are also in a position to utilize sanctions which can block community action.

Institutionalization Institutionalization is the process whereby human behavior is made predictable and patterned; social systems are given the elements of structure and process of function. Community members in the process of socialization learn norms and sentiments. These elements are articulated by community members in similar ways within a wide range of situations. In this way human behavior can be predicted and is said to become institutionalized.

Conditions for social action

In addition to the elements and processes, there are certain attributes of social systems which are never completely controlled by the system's members. These are referred to as general conditions for social action. They include territoriality, size, and time. These three concepts will be defined.

Territoriality Territoriality refers to the physical area of the social system. Since community actors are limited in energy and mobility, they may occupy only one physical position in the spatial area of the community at a given time. The spatial limitations of the community determine within limits the amount of space each community member or group may have, the frequency and intensity of interaction among community members, and the probabilities of systemic linkage among both formal and informal groups.

Size Size refers to the number of actors in the territory capable of action. Communities vary in size. Small communities in rural areas may

have less than 1,000 community members. Large communities may exceed thousands of actors.

Time Time refers to the planning horizon perceived by the social system. Community actors are limited in the time which they spend on community activities. In planning future community action programs, the community may establish goals which it may strive to achieve in a given time period. Time is an attribute involved in all community action programs.

Flowing from the concept of time is timing. In the initiation and implementation of social action programs timing is important in carrying out the different phases of action programs. Timing of the different phases of social action programs may contribute toward the success of the change agent's programs.

In this section a social system model has been defined. A major element of the social system is power. This dissertation is concerned only with the element of power. In this study the other elements of the social system were assumed to be constant for the purpose of constructing a theoretical model to guide the research. In reality, the author recognizes that power is interrelated and in interaction with the other elements of the social system. The interrelationships and interactions of the other elements of the social system model with power will be taken into account only to the extent that they interact intensively and become a major factor in understanding power.

The following section will review a number of previous conceptions of social power.

Conceptions of Social Power

Social scientists have identified social power with prestige, influence, eminence, competence, knowledge, authority, and many other terms. These different concepts suggest that the phenomenon of social power has not been defined in precise terms. In order to gain a better understanding of social power and to clarify the concept of social power, some concepts from among the many different conceptualizations of social power by social scientists will be presented below. This discussion will focus on (1) the definition of social power, (2) the components of social power, and (3) the sources from which social power is derived.

Weber defined power in the following manner:

> 'Power' is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests (58, p. 152).

He has conceptualized power as being an aspect of most social relationships in which there is the possibility of a person imposing his will upon the behavior of other persons. Weber recognized two different types of power. The first type was derived from a constellation of interests in which power is exercised due to individual status and personal attributes. The second type of power was derived from established authority in which the ruler has the right to command and the ruled have the duty to obey because the system is so established.

Weber (58) formulated three ideal types of authority based on beliefs in the legitimacy of the authority. First, <u>legal domination</u> exists where the legitimacy of the system is based on rules which are valid for all

members of the corporate group. The second type, traditional dominance, is based on the belief that the legitimacy of the authority has previously existed. Third, charismatic domination is based on the belief that the authority of power of command exercised by a leader is by virtue of his magical powers, revelation, heroism, or other extraordinary gifts. Although these three ideal types of domination are not found by themselves in the empirical world but in combinations, Weber believed these concepts would be useful in analyzing combinations in terms of their legal, traditional, and charismatic elements.

As mentioned earlier, Weber recognized other aspects of power. Custom, affectual ties, a purely material complex, or ideal motives were viewed as possible explanations of why members of an administrative staff may be bound to obey their superior (or superiors). However, Weber's contribution to the theory of social power is largely through his conceptualization of established authority.

Parsons defined power as:

> Power we may define as the realistic capacity of a system-unit to actualize its 'interests' (attain goals, prevent undesired interference, command respect, control possessions, etc.) within the context of system interaction and in this sense to exert influence on processes in the system (38, p. 95).

Social power, as viewed by Parsons, is the result of three sets of factors:

1. Valuation of a unit (individual or collectivity) of a social system is according to value standards, whether completely common throughout the system or not, and including both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of judgment in relation to standards.

2. The degree to which an actor or actors of a social system is permitted by other actors in the system to deviate from those standards in performance.

3. The control of possessions which is a source of differential advantage in bringing about a desired result (including preventing one not desired).

The roots of authority begin once the influence on the action of others in a social system has become an institutionalized expectation of a role.

Parsons states:

> Authority, finally, is full blown when this institutionalized expectation comes to include the legitimation of 'coercive' sanctions, that is the right to impose consequences deprivational to alter in case he fails to act as ego has an institutionalized right to expect he will, and of course to use the 'threat' of such consequences to motivate alter to 'conform' (38, p. 96).

Authority, then, is the institutionalized power over others.

Power and authority have common roots. Both power and authority have the common elements of social interaction and normative control. Parsons noted that authority is not an isolated phenomenon. Authority is part of a larger family of mechanisms of social control each of which may involve an element of authority, but also other elements as well. Parsons recognized problems in differentiating power and authority analytically.

Presthus (47) conceptualized power as a social phenomenon in contrast to an individualistic view of power. In his theoretical framework, the power of an individual leader is an indicator of his role and status in one or more social subsystems in the community. The power which an individual leader has to affect the decision-making process of the community depends upon the role and status of the leader in social, economic, ethnic, religious, and friendship subsystems within the community. Overlapping group memberships of leaders and the importance of the various subsystems

are also relevant in determining the power of individual community members. In Presthus' framework, power is viewed less as an index of personal power than as an indicator of the existence of the social subsystems of power to which he belongs and from which, in some manner, he derives "his" power.

French (22) conceptualized a theory of social power to explore the extent to which the influence process can be explained in terms of patterns of interpersonal relations. His theory reduced the process of influence to a summation of interpersonal influences which takes into account three complex patterns of relations: 1) the power relations among members of the group, 2) the communication networks or patterns of interaction in the group, and 3) the relations among opinions within the group.

Power is defined by French as:

> ...the power of A over B (with respect to a given opinion) is equal to the maximum force which A can induce on B minus the maximum resisting force which B can mobilize in the opposite direction (22, p. 183).

In his framework the basis of interpersonal power is the more or less enduring relationship between A and B which gives rise to power. According to French, there are five bases of power: attraction power, expert power, reward power, coercive power, and legitimate power.

The bases of power can vary in strength. Therefore, there will be variations in B's liking for A, in B's respect for the expertness of A, etc.

According to French's theory, as the bases of power of A over B increase the resultant force exerted by A over B will also tend to increase. The result will increase the amount of change produced in B.

Form and Miller define community power as "...the network of influences among persons and organizations involved in community issues or projects" (19, p. 434). In their conceptual framework, power is used as the more general term. Power includes both authority and influence. Influence is the altering of human behavior in the absence of perceived sanctions. In order to better understand community power, Form and Miller define and elaborate five components of the community power structure. Diagram 1 on the following page illustrates the five components of the community power structure. The five components developed by Form and Miller are discussed briefly below.

Institutional power structure of the society refers to the relative distribution of power among societal institutions. Each community in the United States is tied into the broader American society. The institutional power structure of society conditions the exercise of community power through a relatively permanent distribution of institutional authority. Economic, governmental, educational, and other American institutions affect community power structures.

The institutionalized power structure of the community refers to the relative distribution of power among local institutions. Although the relations may reflect the pattern of relations among societal institutions, variations may occur. While business may dominate other institutional sectors such as government, education, and religion in many communities, education, for example, may be the dominant institution in a small college town. The local institutions, like the societal institutions, serve as conditioning forces for the community power complex.

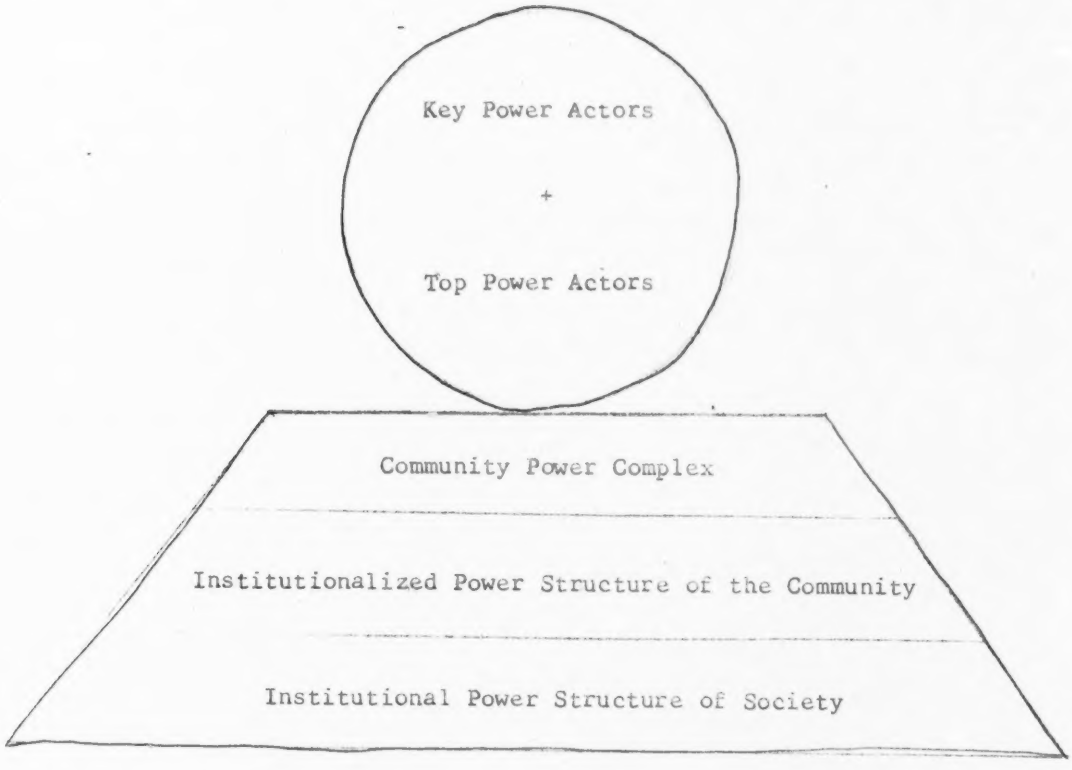

Diagram 1. The five components of community power structure

The community power complex is a power arrangement among temporary or permanent organizations, special-interest associations, and informal groups emerging in specific issues and projects. The different projects and issues which arise in the community are usually not the routine affairs of the local institutions. Instead, power arrangements emerge in specific projects and activities among the temporary or permanent organizations, special-interest associations, and informal groups. The community power complex may vary considerably depending upon the issues and projects and the level of the issues or projects.

Top power actors refer to those persons who are reputed to have the most influence and power in community decision-making. The top power actors represent a pool of potential decision-makers or project leaders. They have demonstrated by their past participation in community issues and projects a concern for community problems, the ability to organize community resources, the capability to direct the policy of the associations and informal groups in the community power complex, and the power to veto important projects. The top power actors are often the heads of business and banking firms, labor unions, institutional representatives, and officials of powerful associations in the community power complex. Members of the community's upper classes or "high society" members may not necessarily be among the top influentials.

Key power actors are the acknowledged leaders among the top power actors. The key power actors may exercise great power either in initiating or sanctioning a community project or leader. A "no" from a key influential may stop a project before it is started.

Earlier in this dissertation, the Loomis social systems model was presented as the conceptual framework for understanding the community. One of the nine elements of the Loomis social systems model is social power. Loomis defines power as "...the capacity to control others" (28, p. 20). Power is composed of two components which are classified as authoritative power and non-authoritative power. Diagram 2 outlines his conceptual framework of social power.

Authority, the authoritative component of power, is the right to control others as determined by members of the social system. Established authority resides in the status-role, not in the individual. The incumbent of an office cannot take the authority with him upon leaving the office. To some degree, authority is always institutionalized. The incumbent of a status-role is expected to have certain rights and responsibilities.

The non-authoritative component is sub-divided into voluntary influence and unlegitimized coercion. Voluntary influence is defined by Loomis "...as control over others which is not built into the authority component of the status-role but results from the willingness of the subordinate to become involved by the superordinate" (28, p. 21). The capacity of influence may reside in the individual actor and his facilities, but it does not reside in the status-role. The bases of influence are skill in manipulating people, social capital resting upon past favors, superior knowledge of the social system, wealth, reputation, or certain outstanding qualities.

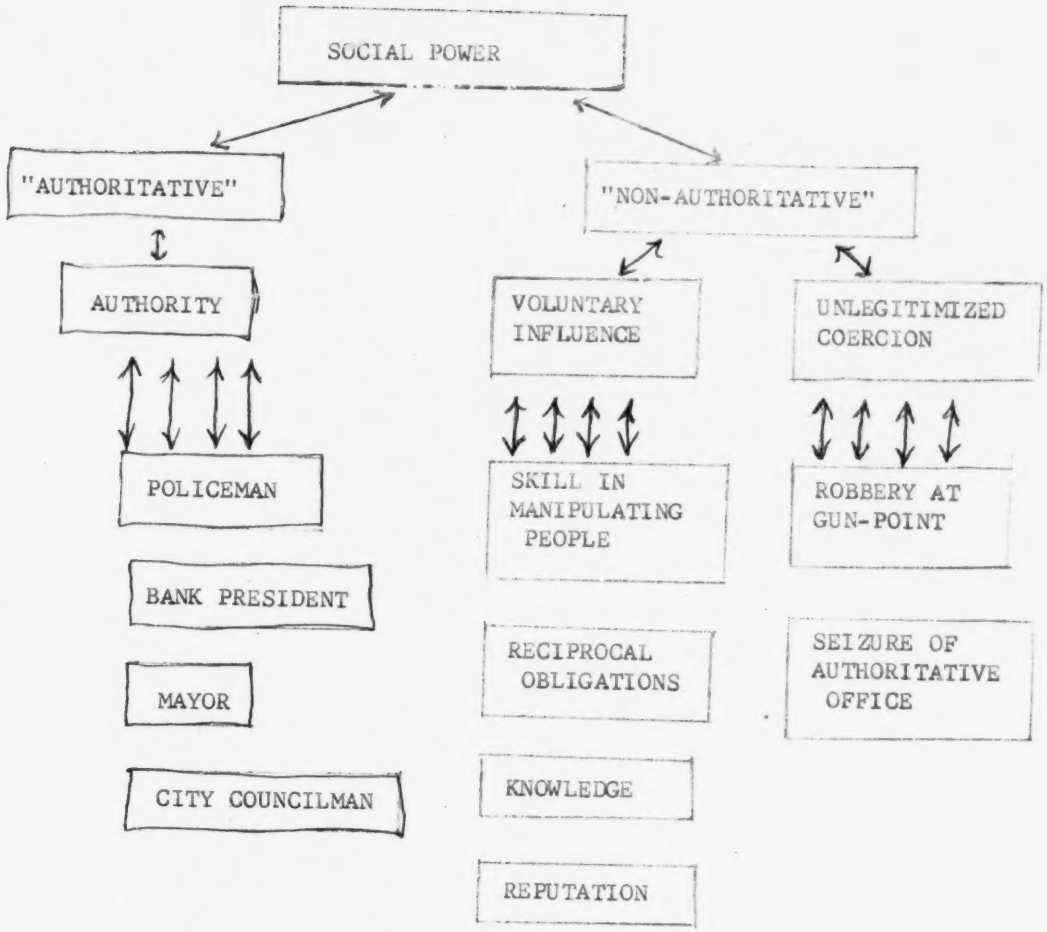

Diagram 2. Loomis' conception of social power

Unlegitimized coercion is exemplified when one actor originates action and another actor responds or obeys unwillingly. The basis of coercion may be either physical or mental or both. Unlegitimized coercion has a tendency toward one-way interaction with the superordinate giving orders or forcing the subordinate without the respondent's consent.

Authoritative and non-authoritative power may interact. For example, an elected official may hold the office, but a "power behind the throne" may influence or actually control the elected official.

Although the social scientists reviewed above have conceptualized social power in somewhat different ways, there are certain common elements in the conceptualizations. While the social scientists reviewed above place different emphasis on conceptualizing social power as an individual or social attribute, social power is generally considered as the potential of individuals or groups to affect the behavior of other individuals. A second common element in the definitions is that social power is conceptualized as having an "authoritative" component and "something else". Weber, Parsons, Form and Miller, and Loomis define authority as one of the components of social power. French defines one of the components as legitimate power, while Presthus defines power attributions of individuals as indicators of their roles and status in community subsystems. Authority is generally conceptualized as a major component of social power.

While the "something else" component of social power is conceptualized in somewhat different terminology, there are similarities. Although he focused mainly on authoritative power, Weber recognized economic forces as giving individuals power. In Parsons' theoretical framework, access

to scarce resources was coneptualized as a component of social power. Control over social and economic resources are also included in the "something else" component as defined by Presthus, French, Form and Miller, and Loomis. In the conceptual frameworks reviewed, social power was conceptualized as having elements other than authoritative power. Diagram 3 summarizes the conceptions of social power reviewed above.

A Social Power Model

Since 1962, Iowa State University has been conducting a series of Sociological Studies involving various research subtask areas, including community power structures. The research subtask area of community power structures has involved the development of a social power model.

The author wishes to acknowledge the research team of rural sociologists at Iowa State University who made significant contributions to the development of the social power model which is presented below. The research team included Dr. George M. Beal, Dr. Joe M. Bohlen, Dr. Ronald C. Powers, Dr. Quentin Jenkins, and Dr. Gerald E. Klonglan.

The social power model defines social power, the major components of social power, and other concepts which are relevant for an understanding of community power structures. The expected logical relationships among some of the concepts of the social power model are stated as general hypotheses.

After reviewing the various conceptions of social power above, the author accepted the social power model which was delineated and defined by the research team of rural sociologists at Iowa State University. The

Diagram 3. Conceptions of social power

Social scientist	Definition of social power	Components of social power	Bases of social power
Weber	Probability of individual or group to carry out their own will despite resistance	Established authority Constellation of interests	Belief in the legitimacy of authority -Legal -Traditional -Charismatic Affectual ties, material complexes
Parsons	Capacity of a system unit (individuals or collectivities) to actualize its 'interests'	Authority (institutionalized power). Access to scarce resources.	Valuation of the unit Degree of deviance permitted Control of possessions
Presthus	System of social relationships	Power attributions are indicators of role and status in subsystems	Economic sources Political sources Labor sources Other social sources
French	Maximum force of A minus maximum resisting force of B	Legitimate power Attraction power Expert power Reward power Coercive power	Legitimate power Attraction power Expert power Reward power Coercive power
Form and Miller	Network of influences among persons and organizations	Authority Influence Five components of community power structure	Institutional sources Voluntary associations Individual characteristics -Ability to organize -Concern for problems, etc.
Loomis	Capacity to control others	Authoritative power Non-authoritative power -Voluntary influence -Unlegitimized coercion	Authority Skilled in manipulating people Reciprocal obligations Superior knowledge Wealth Reputation

social power model was elaborated in a presentation made by Ronald C. Powers and the author (46) during the Seminar on Application of Social Science Research to Civil Defense Problems at Iowa State University (May 8-18, 1967). The social power model as presented during this seminar is outlined in Diagram IV.

Social power

Social power is defined as the capability to control the behavior of others. In social systems such as communities, the ability to influence the behavior of others is differentially distributed among people. Social power is not randomly distributed among the community's population.

The definition states that social power is a capability. Generally, social scientists agree that social power requires facilities or bases. The capability which an individual actor has to control the behavior of others in the community may rest upon different facilities or bases. The bases of social power may include wealth, skill, knowledge, human relations abilities, authority, contact with outside power actors, and many others.

For example, the banker may be able to grant a loan for the establishment of a new industry in the community. Without his position as a banker, he is unable to grant loans for industrial development. The capability which the banker has to control the behavior of others in industrial development rests partly in his position. Other bases also affect the capability to control others such as community interest, knowledge of industrial development, and prestige in the community.

In the community, certain actors have more social power than other actors. These actors often determine the course of social change. They

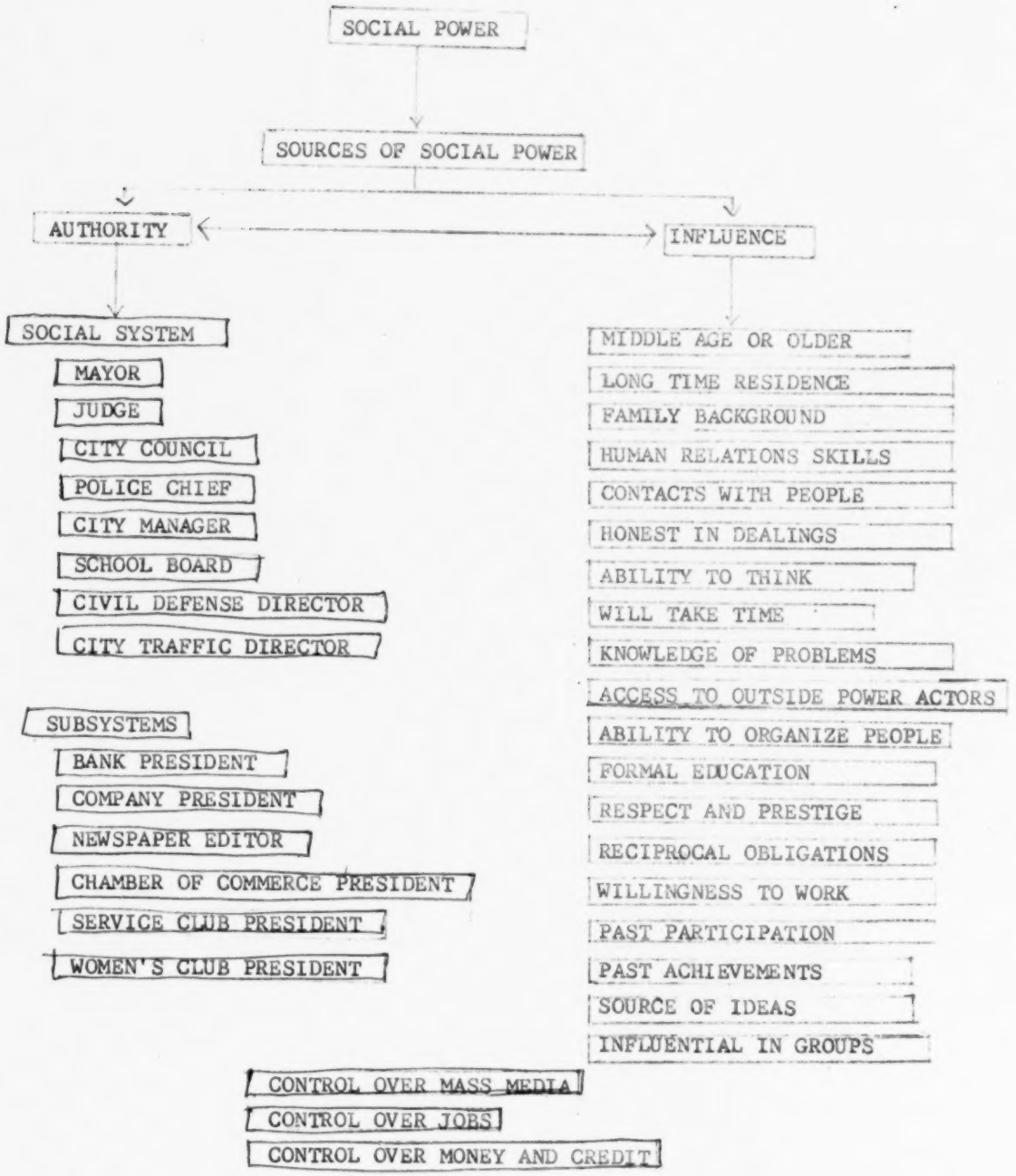

Diagram 4. Social power model

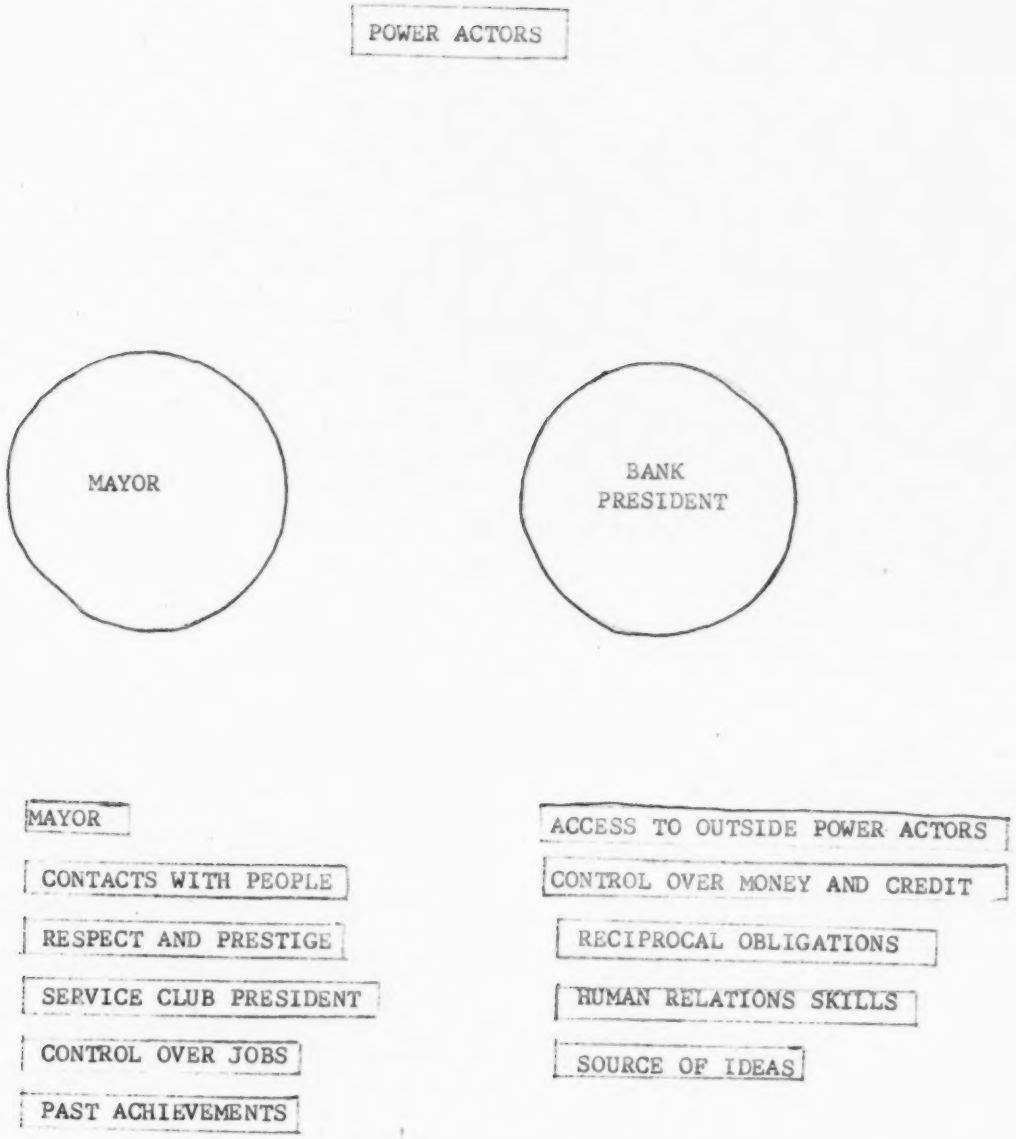

Diagram 4. (Continued)

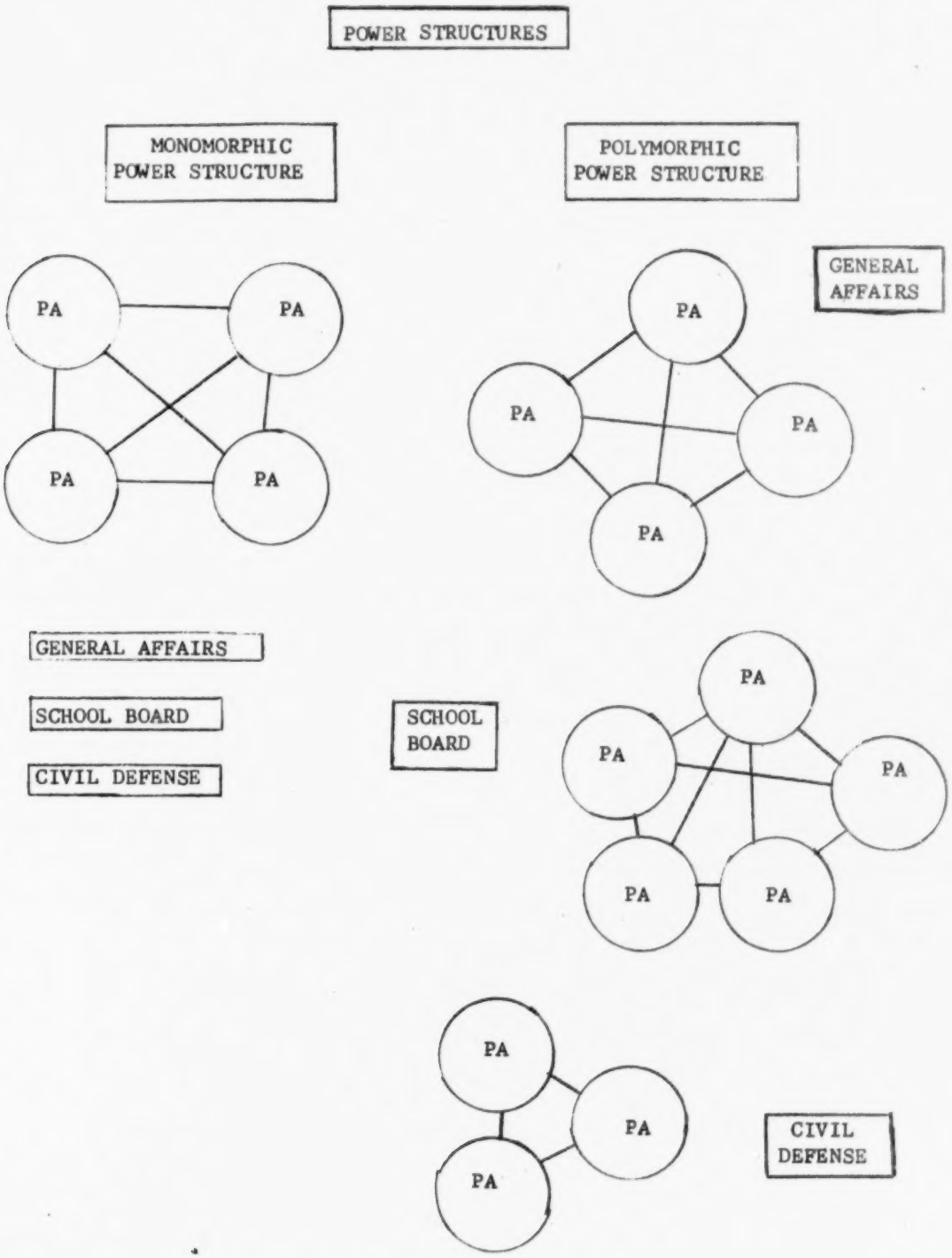

Diagram 4. (Continued)

may have the power to decide whether the community will promote industrial development, develop a community park, reorganize school districts, and improve the sewage system.

Sources of social power are the various bases which give a power actor the capability to control the behavior of others. The sources of social power may be categorized into two major components of social power, namely authority and influence.

Authority is the capability to control the behavior of others as formally determined by the members of the social system and its various subsystems. Established authority always resides in a status-role and not in the individual as such. The incumbent of a status-role or office cannot take the authority with him upon leaving the office.

Within the community social system, authority is conceptualized at two different levels. Some status-roles within the community give the incumbent authoritative power in the entire city or "community" social system. For example, the incumbents occupying the status-roles of mayor, judge, city councilman, police chief, city manager, school board director, civil defense director, and city traffic director have certain authoritative powers given to them by the community.

At a different level, incumbents of formal status-roles in one or more of the community's subsystems have authority to affect the subsystem but the individuals may not have authority to affect the total social system. The bank president, for example, has certain authority invested in his status-role to affect the bank and its relationship to the community. As

a result of occupying the status-role of bank president and having authority in one of the community's relevant subsystems, the incumbent may be in a position to have influence in the total social system. Thus the authoritative position of bank president may be the source of influence to affect the community decision-making process.

Other examples of status-roles which give the incumbent authoritative power in subsystems of the community and possible influence in the total system are company president, newspaper editor, Chamber of Commerce president, service club president, Women's Club president, etc. In these authoritative positions, the individuals may have authoritative power to control mass media, control the appointment of actors to jobs, and control over money and credit. This authoritative power may be a source of influence to affect the community decision-making process.

In the ideal form, the amount of authority is constant for the formal positions of the social system or its subsystems unless changed. In the empirical world, the amount of power exercised through formal offices may vary as the result of three factors. First, the amount of influence may interact with the amount of authority to produce variations in the amount of power exercised. Two power actors may exercise the same amount of authoritative power, but one may exercise greater social power through a greater amount of influence interacting with the formal power. Second, the formal office holder may not exercise his full authoritative power due to imperfect knowledge of the rights given to him by the social system. Third, the units of the social system may have imperfect knowledge of the rights

which they have invested in the status role and thus the authority figure may be perceived as exercising authority social power when in fact he is acting beyond his given authority.

Influence is that capability to control the behavior of others which is not formally designated in the authority component of the status-role. Influence results from the willingness of the subordinate to become involved by the superordinate. The capability of an actor (or actors) to influence others may reside in the individual actor and his facilities, but it does not reside in a formalized status-role of the specific system. Some examples of facilities which may give the actor the capability to influence others are human relations skills, intelligence, wealth, control of mass media, reputation, religious affiliation and status within the church, family prestige, and past achievements.

A middle-aged man who is editor of the local newspaper may be perceived as a power actor. He is not currently holding an elective office in which the community has defined the social power which can be exercised. He is not now serving in formal offices in service organizations although he is an active member. His influence over the behavior of others in the community may rest upon his human relations skills, knowledge of the things which need to be done, his past achievements which include serving in formal offices in service organizations, and his control over mass media. People in the community may be willing to become involved with the newspaper editor as a superordinate based upon his influence.

Persons in the community who have the most power may not be in authority positions. Individuals with the relevant social power in com-

munity affairs may not be in authority positions.

Power actors

Power actors are the actors of the social system who are perceived to have social power and affect the community decision-making process. They are perceived to have more social power than other actors with which to affect the decision-making process. The social power which community power actors have may depend upon the interaction of various sources of social power.

The mayor of the community may have several sources of social power which interact to give him social power to affect the community decision-making process. The mayor has authority, which resides in the office of mayor, to affect the community decision-making process. In addition to the authority which resides in the office of mayor, the occupant of the office may have influence sources of social power such as contacts with people, respect and prestige and past achievements. The mayor may have additional authority due to his occupancy of the formal office of service club president. The mayor may also have control over jobs, which is an authoritative source of social power. Control over jobs may give the mayor influence in the community. Through the interaction of these sources, the mayor may have social power to affect the community decision-making process. In a similar manner, the sources of social power of the bank president may interact to give the bank president social power to affect community decisions.

Each community power actor is likely to have several sources upon which his social power rests. Through the interaction of his sources of social

power, the community power actor has social power to affect the community decision-making process.

Power structure

A power structure is that pattern of relationships among individuals which enables the individuals possessing social power to act in concert to affect the decision-making of the social system on a given issue area. To clarify the concept, individuals working separately toward a common goal in the social system without communication among the individuals does not constitute a power structure.

Within the community, there is likely to be disagreement on many issues. An individual actor may not be able to exercise social power to affect the decision-making process of the community. Individuals forming patterns of relationships can exert more social power; thus, they are more nearly able to affect the course of community action.

A monomorphic power structure is a structure of power in which the same persons are the most powerful in different community issue areas. For example in a monomorphic power structure, power actors who affect the decision-making process in general affairs are also the power actors who affect the decision-making process in the school board and civil defense issue areas.

Although the same power actors are the most powerful in each issue area, the structural relations among the top power actors may vary depending upon the issue area. A prominent educator who is among the power actors in a monomorphic power structure may play a different role in the decisions relating to industry in comparison with education. The other power actors may rely on his knowledge and resources about education; but in industry

they may rely more heavily upon a banker because of his special knowledge and resources. While both the educator and the banker are a part of a monomorphic power structure, they play different roles depending upon the issue area. Each power actor in a monomorphic power structure may contribute different resources depending on the issue area.

At another level the structure of power within a single issue area may be monomorphic. Power actors in industry who make nearly all the decisions which affect the course of industrial action constitute a monomorphic power structure. While a monomorphic power structure may not exist when comparing several issues, a monomorphic power structure may exist within each issue area.

In comparing community power structures in issue areas the same power actors may be the most powerful in each issue area. However, another group of power actors may be challenging the social power which the top power actors possess. They may desire to displace the existing monomorphic power structure. In this dissertation, a monomorphic power structure will also constitute factions only if one faction is the most powerful in the major issue areas, or in a general power structure including all issue areas.

A polymorphic power structure is a structure of power in which different persons are the most powerful in different community issue areas. One type of a polymorphic power structure refers to different power actors in each issue area. For example, in a polymorphic power structure, the power actors who have the most social power in general affairs are completely different from the power actors who affect the decision-making process in the school board and civil defense issue areas.

As used in this dissertation, a second type of polymorphic power refers to the situation where the same persons are the decision-makers in all issue areas, but the persons perceived to have the most power in each issue area differ. A group of 20 power actors may represent the decision-makers in education, recreation, and politics. The ranking or ordering of the most powerful in each issue area may result in different persons being perceived as having major power positions in education, recreation, and politics. This constitutes a polymorphic power structure.

Within a single issue area the structure of power may be polymorphic. In education, the social power may be distributed between two factions. One faction may control the formal positions on the local school board. Another faction may have power to defeat school bond issues proposed by the school board and other school officials. The social power to affect the course of education is distributed between the two factions. The two factions within the education issue area would be defined as representing a polymorphic power structure.

Although the power structures among and within issue areas may be polymorphic, a small number of generalized power actors may appear. A few power actors may appear among the power structures in different community issue areas. For example, the newspaper editor may have social power in business, industry, politics, and education. He may affect the decisions which are made in each of these issue areas. The other power actors who are perceived to have power in each area may vary. While a few generalized power actors may appear, the power structure is defined as polymorphic if power actors generally vary depending upon the issue area.

A polymorphic power structure may also exist when there are two or more general (exercising power in a number of issue areas) power structures possessing relatively similar amounts of power. For example, if there are older age and middle age power structures each with nearly equal power and each influencing public opinion and community decisions in a number of issue areas, this would be defined as polymorphic power structures.

In summary, the theory of social power has defined the major concepts: social power, sources of social power, authority, influence, power actors, power structure, monomorphic power structure, and polymorphic power structure. The expected relationships among the major concepts of the social power model will be stated as general hypotheses. The general hypotheses were generated from the theoretical and empirical research which has been done in the area of social power.

General Hypothesis

The theoretical framework outlined in the previous section delineated and defined the concepts central to this dissertation. If the social scientist is to order and give meaning to facts in the empirical world, he must be able to deduce propositions from the theoretical framework and empirical research which should be true.

Since the major objective of this dissertation is to determine the extent to which one power structure makes decisions in major community issues or different power structures make decisions in different issue

areas, the purpose of this section is to state the expected relationships among the concepts in the form of a general hypothesis. This hypothesis will be generated from the theory developed and the previous empirical research of social scientists. Since this dissertation is primarily concerned with the relationship of power structures and issue areas, the expected relationships which will be generated below will focus on this aspect of social power.

In initiating and implementing social change in social systems, change agents need to involve actors to achieve their goals. The actors who become involved in bringing about social change may have differential social power with which to determine the direction and outcomes of social change. In addition to having differential social power, they may play different roles in determining the course of social change.

Beal (3) has pointed out that while the final legitimizers in any action program are all the people involved, a much more limited group of people or an individual often have the right of legitimation. This implies that groups or individuals have differential social power to affect the course of social change in the social system.

Within complex social systems such as communities, a few actors may legitimize or give sanction to social change. These power actors affect the decision-making process and determine the course of social change in the social system. While a limited number of actors (power actors) may have the capability to affect the decision-making, other actors may have social power to carry out or implement decisions.

Among the earliest political philosophers, Plato and Aristotle (21) assumed that men differ in their capacities for various particular accomplishments. According to their theoretical systems, men also differed from one another in their capacity for attaining human virtue. In his ideal state, Plato's four main elements of human virtue were 1) wisdom, 2) courage, 3) temperance, and 4) justice. Men who achieved these elements were considered to be wholly good men; but few men were believed to have the capacity to achieve human virtue. Plato and Aristotle believed that these differences in the capacities of human beings made many unqualified to rule or govern.

A review[1] of the theories of class structure indicates that inequalities occur among classes of people in societies. The inequalities among men may be due to 1) socio-economic and 2) socio-psychological variables. Socio-economic variables (e.g., sources of income, mode of production, ownership of private property) and socio-psychological variables (e.g., common interests, common traditions, attitudes) are sources of differences or inequalities among people in the society.

Smith (51) points out that classes have different interests and resources with which to claim a share of the public consideration. In The Power Elite, Mills (36) conceptualized the local society (towns and small cities) as having three classes: upper, middle, and lower. The upper class possess more of the community's resources than the middle and lower

---

[1] Bendix and Lipset have presented in summary form some of the theories of class structure. See Bendix and Lipset (7).

classes. Mills perceived the upper class to hold the keys to local decision. They owned communications media, local business plants, banks, and other commercial properties. The community members differ in their resources and access to the community's resources. The capability to control resources and affect the community decision-making process is unequally divided among the community's members.

Dahl (13) points out that one of the main reasons why the system does not approximate political equality is the unequal distribution of the access to political resources. The influence or capability which a community member has in the community is partly a function of the political resources to which one has access.

Men are perceived to have different capabilities to accomplish different goals. As individuals, they are unequal in their control over or access to the resources of their environment. In community social systems, individuals or groups have different capabilities to determine the course of social change. Since some community members or groups have control over access to more of the social system's resources than other community members, they may be perceived to have the capability to determine the course of social change which affects the life of the entire community and its members.

In a discussion of influence as the major component of leadership, Hobbs and Powers (24) have suggested that the direction of influence, i.e., the ability to control the behavior of others, is a function of resources such as specialized knowledge, specialized skills, access to resources and status as related to the situation.

In the earlier discussion of the conceptualization of social power, the social scientists reviewed stated different sources or bases of power. The different social action programs which the social system considers in its decision-making process require different resources to implement. In the community, different power actors will probably have different resources or sources of social power (knowledge, skills, wealth, etc.) to contribute to community action programs. It would seem logical that the power structure of the community would vary depending on the issue area and the resources needed for the program.

Rossi (48) points out that the number of decision-makers and decisions made in a large community is so great that complete monitoring by a single power structure seems impossible.

Barth and Johnson (2) provide a typology for the classification of community issues. One of the five typology dimensions relates to the interests of the power holders. Barth and Johnson call this dimension salient-nonsalient to leadership. They state:

> Community issues vary along a continuum from some that are central to the interests of community leaders...to some that are peripheral to their interests and of little concern to them (2, p. 30).

In Rovere, Merton (32) found that the influentials differed widely with respect to the number of spheres of activity in which they exerted interpersonal influence. Merton termed the influentials who were repeatedly cited as exerting influence in only one rather narrowly defined sphere (e.g., politics) as monomorphic influentials. On the other hand, some influentials exerted influence in several spheres. Merton designated

these as polymorphic influentials.

In Community Power Structure, Hunter states:

> Only a rudimentary 'power pyramid' of Regional City will be presented. One may be content to do this because I doubt seriously that power forms a single pyramid with any nicety in a community the size of Regional City. There are pyramids of power in this community which seem more important to the present discussion than a pyramid (25, p. 62).

Miller (34) refers to top influentials and key influentials. Top influentials are a number of influential persons from whom particular decision-makers are drawn into various systems of power relations according to community issues and projects that arise. Key influentials are the acknowledged leaders of the top influentials. The key influentials exercise great influence in either initiating or sanctioning a product or issue. Miller found that key influentials do not repeatedly act in concert utilizing subordinate groups. Different combinations of key influentials and top influentials will appear depending upon the issue.

In his study of leaders and subleaders in three issue areas (political nominations, urban redevelopment, and public education) Dahl (13) found that community influentials in one issue area are not likely to be influentials in other issue areas. He also concluded that leaders in different issue areas do not seem to be drawn from a single homogenous stratum of the community.

Form and Sauer (20) found in their study that half of the influentials studied (40 in number) perceived a small group as being responsible for making most of the important community decisions. In turn, one half of the influentials perceived the decision-makers as changing depending on

the issues involved.

Presthus (47) determined the patterning of power in two upstate New York communities. In Edgewood, Presthus analyzed the patterning of power in five issue areas, namely, flood control, municipal building, the new hospital, new industry, and the school bond issue. He found that 39 percent of the decision-makers overlapped, i.e., they participated actively in two or more of the five community issues. The major issues analyzed by Presthus in Riverview were: a school bond issue, a new hospital, new industry, flood control, and a public housing authority. In Riverview, Presthus found that 32 percent of the decision-makers participated actively in two or more of the five issues. Approximately one-third of the decision-makers in both communities participated in two or more of the issues studied, while approximately two-thirds participated in only one issue area.

Agger and Goldrich (1) assessed the degree to which influence is attributed to the same or different people in different policy-making areas. Their preliminary analysis indicated that perceptions of specialized influence seem to be the general rule in the community in the issue areas of school, local government, and community welfare.

In a Mississippi community, Fanelli (18) found that only one person of tne 25 leaders studied ranked near the top in three issue areas. A possible factor contributing to the specialization is the variation in occupational roles among community influentials. The one generalized leader, the newspaper editor, may play a generalized role on community issues due to his particular occupation. Fanelli's analysis of the data indicated that leadership roles tend to be specialized.

In the analysis of Springdale, a small rural community, Vidich and Bensman (56) found that there were three major areas of politics. In addition to the village government which was excluded from jurisdiction over farmers living in the rural areas, the village participated in two larger social systems. The town government and the school district potentially included all the residents of the township including the residents of the village. These three involved different constituencies. Each encompassed different interests and purposes.

In a study of four contiguous townships in Iowa, Ryan (49) found that different individuals tended to be specified as leaders in the respective townships. Ryan also found that the leaders tended to confine their activities to a single problem.

The review indicates that the power actors who affect the decision-making process in one issue area may differ from power actors in other issue areas. The following general hypothesis is stated:

G.H.1: Power structures will vary by issue area.

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The objectives of this chapter are to: 1) present a brief description of the five social systems which were selected for the study of social power; 2) discuss alternative approaches to the study of social power; 3) state the field procedures and describe the instruments which were used for gathering the data from power actors about social power; 4) derive the epistemic correlations or relationships between the conceptual level and the empirical level; and 5) state the empirical hypotheses that will be tested.

The Social Systems

According to the 1960 census data (55), approximately 40 percent of the total population in the United States lived in places which have a population of 5,000 people or less. These places included both towns and villages under 5,000 and the rural areas. This represented approximately 72 million people in 1960.

The five social systems selected for the study of social power were among the places having a population of 5,000 people or less. All five social systems are within the state of Iowa. The population of Iowa in 1960 was approximately 2.8 million people. Nearly 650,000 of Iowa's population lived in incorporated places of less than 5,000. Almost 475,000 of these lived in incorporated places of less than 2,500 inhabitants.

In Table 1, the population data for the five places[1] for three different time periods are presented. The five places which were selected for the study of social power ranged in population from 638 to 4,501 according to the 1960 census (41).

Table 1. Population of five rural places by selected time periods

Place	County	1940	1950	1960
Cornerville	South	903	750	638
Annville	South	782	761	692
Oak Town	South	1,539	1,223	1,117
Center Town	South	1,872	1,870	1,687
Prairie City	Midwest	4,006	4,432	4,501

Four of the five places are located in South County. These four places represent all the communities which have a population greater than 500 in the county. The four places ranged in population from 638 to 1,687 according to the 1960 census. The population of South County was approximately 9,800 in 1960. South County is located in southern Iowa.

Cornerville, the smallest of the four communities in 1960, is located in the northwest corner of South County. It is approximately 14 miles from Center Town.

[1] Throughout this dissertation the names of the communities (Cornerville, Annville, Oak Town, Center Town and Prairie City) and counties (South and Midwest) are pseudonyms to protect the identity of the real names.

Annville is similar to Cornerville in population. The location of Annville in the central portion of South County places it approximately seven miles southwest of the county seat, Center Town.

The second largest community in South County is Oak Town. This community of approximately 1,100 people is located in the southeast corner of the county. The community is approximately 15 miles from Center Town. The nearness of Oak Town to the border of East County places it approximately 19 miles from the county seat of East County.

Center Town, the county seat, is located approximately at the geographic center of the county. The population of the community was approximately 1,700 in 1960, the largest community in South County. Center Town is the locus of political and governmental affairs in the county.

The largest of the five social systems selected for the study of social power was Prairie City, a community of 4,501 inhabitants according to the 1960 census. Prairie City is located in Midwest County, a county of approximately 15,000 population. It is the dominant social and economic locus of Midwest County. As the county seat of Midwest County, Prairie City is the center of county political activities.[1]

Alternative Approaches to the Study of Social Power

Various methodological approaches are available to the social scientist to analyze and understand social power in community social

---

[1] For a detailed description of Prairie City and the county social system in which it is located the reader is referred to Bohlen, Beal, Klonglan, and Tait (8).

systems. In studying social power, researchers have employed a number of different approaches. Often times these variations have been due to differences in defining concepts and in the method used in locating power actors. If social scientists are to delineate the power actors, they will need some tools to accomplish the task.

Bell, Hill, and Wright (5) have reviewed the different approaches to the study of public leadership. They have classified the various approaches of identifying public leaders (power actors) into five categories which are: 1) positional leadership, 2) reputational leadership, 3) social participation, 4) personal influence or opinion leadership, and 5) event analysis or decision-making. A brief overview of these five approaches is presented below.

In the positional leadership approach, the researcher selects persons from among the formal leaders of the community. This approach involves the development of criteria for determining which authoritative positions are relevant to the community decision-making process. Often the power actors selected include elected political officials, officials of voluntary associations, heads of religious groups, labor union leaders, military officers, and others in well-defined positions.

An advantage of the positional leadership approach is its simplicity in identifying power actors providing criteria are established for determining which formal positions are to be included in the sample. However, this advantage is largely offset by the failure of this approach to locate power actors who may work behind the scenes to affect community

decisions. In addition, if arbitrary lines are drawn to determine the authoritative positions which are relevant to community decisions, then persons occupying lower echelon formal positions, who may have considerably more social power than persons occupying higher echelon formal positions, are eliminated from the sample. The positional leadership approach appears to have limitations if the researcher's objective is to determine the pool of the community's most influential people.

The reputational leadership approach differs from the positional leadership approach in which the researcher decides who will be selected as power actors. In the reputational leadership approach, the researcher interviews community members who are perceived to have a general knowledge of the community. By asking a series of questions, the power actors are identified. These community members who are first interviewed have frequently been referred to as community knowledgeables.

Community knowledgeables are usually asked to name persons they perceive to have social power in various community issue areas. Some of the research designs have included asking the question, "Who are the biggest men in town?"

After adding the number of times each person was mentioned by the community knowledgeables, the researcher often establishes a certain level of mentions as the criterion for selecting his final sample of power actors. Although the researcher arbitrarily selects the number in the final sample, the persons delineated through the reputational leadership approach are determined by the judgments of community knowledgeables.

The validity of the reputational leadership approach depends largely upon the community knowledgeables' ability to name or identify persons who affect community decisions. A critical step in the reputational approach is selecting community knowledgeables who are highly informed about the community decision-making process. A rigorous process of selecting knowledgeables from the various institutions (economic, political, agriculture, education, religion, etc.) can enhance the validity of the reputational leadership approach. In addition, the validity of the reputational approach can be increased by studying the power structures for a relatively large number of community issue areas.

The reputational leadership approach has the advantage of delineating power actors who are informal influentials who operate behind the scenes as well as authority power holders. One limitation is that its validity rests on the ability of community knowledgeables to name or identify persons who affect community decisions. This limitation may be partially overcome through a more rigorous research design.

The social participation approach has been used as a rough approximation to an operational definition of social power. In this approach, the formal organizations of the community are studied. The researcher places emphasis on the degree of participation of community members in the various formal organizations. Each person's individual participation in different activities is combined into an index or scale of social participation. The community members are then ranked with those receiving the highest social participation scores being designated as the power actors.

This approach provides detailed information on formal offices held, percentage attendance at organization meetings, and committee participation. Although the social participation approach provides detailed information on the participation of community members, it may fail to identify power actors who do not participate in implementing social action programs. Power actors who determine the course of community activities may not participate in action phases through formal offices or committee involvement. The social participation approach may fail to identify men of power who operate behind the scenes.

In the personal influence or opinion leadership approach, the researcher is concerned with leaders who influence people in matters of decision and opinion formation. Through day to day contacts, people may influence the decisions and opinions of other people. Opinion leaders need not be in formal positions. Within a community there are opinion leaders in each stratum. For example, opinion leaders exist among the business and professional people. Likewise, opinion leaders exist among the unskilled workers.

This approach has the advantage of analyzing the formation of opinions by the community actors. In addition, this design assumes that opinion leaders need not be in formal positions to personally influence other people. The personal influence or opinion leadership approach is applicable to determining the formation of political, economic, and religious opinions. While opinion leaders appear in each stratum of the community, it is questionable whether the majority of the opinion leaders have the potential to decide the course of community action. It appears

that the personal influence or opinion leadership approach has limitations for studying power actors and the extent to which they cooperate to sanction or block community action.

A more detailed analysis of one or more community issue areas may be achieved through the event analysis or decision-making approach. The researcher traces the history of one or more community issues. It focuses upon the process of an issue from its initiation until its completion. The researcher determines the decision-makers for each of the stages.

The event analysis or decision-making approach would permit the researcher to analyze the channeling of decisions through the different stages of one or several issues. The extent to which the legitimizers of community action are also the persons who carry out the decisions at later stages could be more thoroughly analyzed through this approach in comparison with the previous four approaches. The networks or relations between those who legitimize community action and the persons who implement or carry out the decisions could be delineated.

This approach has limitations as a means for studying social power. It involves either analyzing community issues as they occur or making the analysis post factum. This often involves extensive resources of time and finances. In addition, the approach is limited to one or a few issues at best due to the extensive analysis of each issue. Therefore, it may be limited in analyzing the extent to which one power structure or several power structures affect decisions in different issue areas.

The five different approaches to a knowledge and understanding of social power are not always easily differentiated. The designs used by various researchers have usually combined the different approaches. The selection of an approach or combination of approaches may partially be determined by the objectives of the research project. For example, if the researcher is primarily interested in the linkages between the legitimizers and the implementers of the decisions in a limited number of issue areas, then he is likely to select the decision-making or event analysis approach.

Field Method and Procedure

The field work involving the identification of power actors and the collection of data about social power from power actors and other community actors was carried out during the period 1962-1963. The methodology used in each of the five communities was similar.

The methodology used combined different approaches to the study of social power. The integration of the different approaches into the research design will become apparent through the discussion of the three phases of the study which will follow.

The procedures for identifying power actors in each of the five communities involved three phases. During the first phase, external community knowledgeables were interviewed. The second phase involved interviews with internal community knowledgeables. The third and final phase involved interviews with the pool of power actors in each community.

The external community knowledgeables interviewed for each community

were persons who lived outside the community and who were perceived to have a general knowledge of the community. They were interviewed for the purpose of providing basic information about social power in the community.

Specifically, the external community knowledgeables were needed for at least three reasons. First, they were asked to provide names of persons within the community who would have a broad knowledge of the community decision-making process. Second, the external community knowledgeables were needed to provide background information on past and present community issues. Third, they were asked to name persons whom they perceived to be power actors.

Based on the analysis of data obtained from external community knowledgeables, a list of persons perceived to have a broad knowledge of the community decision-making process was delineated. These community actors were designated as internal community knowledgeables.[1] Among the internal community knowledgeables were representatives of the various institutions of each community. They included community knowledgeables in education, agriculture, communications, labor, politics, business, and government.

Before interviewing internal community knowledgeables during the second phase of the study, a formal field schedule[2] was prepared. The

---

[1]The number of internal community knowledgeables interviewed in each community was as follows: Cornerville - 5; Annville - 5; Oak Town - 7; Center Town - 9; and Prairie City - 16.

[2]This schedule will be referred to hereafter as the knowledgeable schedule.

knowledgeable schedule was designed to obtain names of persons perceived to have social power in different issue areas. The internal community knowledgeables in Prairie City were asked to name persons whom they perceived to have the most power in the issue areas[1] of economic affairs, education, business promotion, recreation, government, obtaining farmer support, and general affairs.

In Center Town, Cornerville, and Annville, the issue areas included in the knowledgeable schedule were general affairs, economic affairs, and county courthouse. The issue areas included in the knowledgeable schedule in Oak Town were general affairs, economic affairs, county courthouse, and county hospital.

Following the completion of the interviews with the internal community knowledgeables, the data were analyzed. Community actors receiving an arbitrarily established number of mentions in the various issue areas were designated as the pool of power actors in each community.[2]

---

[1] A discussion of the community issue areas appears later in this dissertation.

[2] The pool of power actors in Cornerville, Annville, and Center Town was determined by including all community actors who had been named by two or more internal community knowledgeables in any one of the three issue areas included in the schedule. They were general affairs, economic affairs, and county courthouse. All community actors in Oak Town receiving three or more mentions in the issue areas of general affairs, economic affairs, county hospital, county courthouse, and those persons the internal community knowledgeables indicated they would talk to about a new idea to increase business in the community were designated as the pool of power actors in the community. In Prairie City, all community actors who received three or more mentions by the internal community knowledgeables in either general affairs, economic affairs, or politics were arbitrarily established as the pool of power actors. Two additional community actors were included in the Prairie City power actor pool. They were added due to considerable evidence that they had social power in community affairs.

The number of power actors in each community who were delineated and interviewed in each of the five communities is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Number of power actors delineated and interviewed in each of the five communities

Community	Number delineated	Number interviewed
Cornerville	18	16
Annville	16	14
Oak Town	22	19
Center Town	18	18
Prairie City	26	25
Total	100	92

Prior to interviewing the pool of power actors during the third phase of the field work, a field schedule[1] was constructed. The power actor schedule was designed to provide data for testing the expected logical relationships among some of the concepts of the social power model. Although some variations existed in the power actor schedule depending upon the community, the general procedures used in each of the five communities were similar.

[1] This schedule will be referred to hereafter as the power actor schedule.

The general framework of the power actor schedule included questions to determine the power actors' perception of the existence of community social power. The power actors were asked to indicate whether they perceived other community actors to have as much or more social power in community affairs than the power actors who were delineated through the process of interviews with internal community knowledgeables. If the power actors indicated that they perceived other community actors to have as much or more social power than those community actors delineated through interviewing knowledgeables, these names were added to the lists in the field schedule.

The power actor schedule was designed to determine the 1) exercise of social power by the power actors, 2) the power actors' personal and social attributes, 3) the structure in interpersonal relations among the power actors, 4) the perceptions of a monomorphic or polymorphic power structure, 5) the relationship of authority and influence as components of community social power, 6) the sources of social power, and 7) the role performances of power actors.

The data to be used in this study were derived from three main sources in each of the five communities:

1. Interviews with external community knowledgeables
2. Interviews with internal community knowledgeables
3. Interviews with the community power actors.

Epistemic Correlations

In the preceding chapter, the concepts central to this dissertation were defined. In addition, a review of social power theory and research was completed for the purpose of deductively arriving at the relationship between power structures and issue areas in community social systems. The review indicated that the power actors who affect the decision-making process in one issue area may differ from the power actors in other issue areas. Thus, it was hypothesized that power structures will vary by issue area. If the canons of the scientific method are to be satisfied, the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area must be operationalized and put to an empirical test.

The purpose of this section is to state the operational measures developed to test the validity of the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area. These relationships between the conceptual level and the empirical level are referred to as epistemic correlations. Northrop has defined an epistemic correlation as follows:

> An epistemic correlation is a relation joining an unobserved component of anything designated by a concept by postulation to its directly inspected component denoted by a concept by intuition (37, p. 119).

Through the means of epistemic correlations the scientist can verify the existence of unobservable scientific phenomena. The scientist can postulate the unobservable scientific phenomena and establish epistemic correlates between them and phenomena which can be directly observed. If the directly observed data are in accord with what the postulated or deduced theorems state, then the unobservable scientific phenomena are

said to exist.

Powers has stated that the derivation of valid epistemic correlations in social power research is difficult for three reasons. They are:

> First, previous research, albeit there are exceptions, has not attempted to develop measures but has chosen to operate within the framework of descriptive analysis. Secondly, past research has contributed little from the standpoint of methodology in power research. As a result the development of measuring devices appears to still be in the initial stages.
>
> A third reason is that the writers who have generated theories of power are not usually the ones who have completed the empirical research. This situation has likely contributed to the slow development of a set of systematic epistemic correlations (45, p. 50).

This section will state the epistemic correlations which were developed to operationalize the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area. Following the epistemic correlations, the empirical hypotheses will be stated.

The general hypothesis is that power structures will vary by issue area. To aid in operationalizing this general hypothesis, probe questions were asked regarding persons who were perceived to have social power in different issue areas. During the second phase of the field procedures, the internal community knowledgeables, (persons living in the community who were perceived to have knowledge of the community decision-making process), were asked to name persons whom they perceived to have the most social power in different issue areas. In Oak Town, three community issues were included in the knowledgeable schedule: economic affairs, county hospital, and county courthouse. The three community issues included in the knowledgeable schedule in Center Town were: general

affairs, economic affairs, and county courthouse. In Prairie City, the seven community issues in the knowledgeable schedule were: general affairs, economic affairs, politics, recreation, school reorganization, support of farmer, and retail sales increase.

One example of the questions which the internal community knowledgeables were asked was the following:

> If a school reorganization issue came up, who do you think would be the person or persons most influential in obtaining or blocking the reorganizational proposal?

Formal questions relating to each of the other issue areas were similar to the school reorganization question. In response to these questions, the internal community knowledgeables provided names of persons they perceived to have the most social power in each of the community issue areas.

One measure[1] of the extent to which the power structures will vary by issue area was the degree to which the internal community knowledgeables perceived different persons as being the most powerful in different issue areas. The data in each of the communities (Oak Town, Center Town, and Prairie City) were analyzed by comparing all the names provided by the internal community knowledgeables in each of the issue areas with all the names provided for each of the other issue areas. For example, in Oak Town, all of the different names provided in economic affairs were

---

[1]The author appreciates the valuable assistance which Dr. Richard Warren, Associate Professor of Sociology, provided in the development of the operational measures.

compared with all the names mentioned in the county hospital issue; likewise, all of the different names provided in economic affairs were compared with all the names mentioned in the county courthouse issue. In this manner, the internal community knowledgeables' perceptions of the structure of power in community affairs were obtained.

Social power research has generally not attempted to develop measures but has chosen to operate within the framework of descriptive analysis. The development of measures to determine the extent to which power structures will vary by issue area appears to be in the initial stages. With different individuals being named as having social power in different community issue areas in varying numbers, it is difficult to establish an adequate measure to determine whether the power structure is monomorphic or polymorphic.

One approach to measurement of monomorphic or polymorphic power is to establish some arbitrary percentage of overlap of names when comparing two issue areas as the level of significance for testing empirical hypotheses. Since previous power studies have not developed rigorous criteria to determine whether power structures are monomorphic or polymorphic, there does not appear to be any rationale for establishing an arbitrary percentage of overlap in names when comparing two issue areas to determine whether the power structure is monomorphic or polymorphic.

Despite the fact that there seems to be more evidence that power structures tend to be polymorphic in nature, the most defensible measure for comparing the names mentioned on one issue area with the names

mentioned on another issue appeared to be to determine whether the frequencies of names provided on the two issue areas deviate significantly from a chance distribution. For example, if ten different names appeared in the two issues, one would expect five names to appear on both lists and five names to appear on only one issue if the names were distributed by chance. If the distribution of the names deviated significantly from a chance distribution, one would expect the power structure to tend toward either monomorphic or polymorphic.

Fully recognizing the limitations of the chance distribution approach, it was decided that this approach would be used. The chi-square was used as the statistical test. Since past research evidence tends to show that power structures are likely to vary by issue area, the empirical hypotheses will be stated in the direction of polymorphic power.

The calculated chi-square value will be compared with the theoretical chi-square value of 3.84 for one degree of freedom at the .05 level of probability.[1] If a calculated chi-square value of 3.84 or greater is obtained, it will be concluded that there is a relationship between the names provided in one issue area and the names provided in another issue area.

If a significant chi-square value is observed and the inspection of the data indicates that the names provided on one issue area tend to also be named on the other issue area, then it will be concluded that the power structure tends to be monomorphic for the comparison of the two issue areas. If a significant chi-square value is observed and the

[1]The theoretical chi-square value is taken from Snedecor (52, p. 28).

inspection of the data indicates that the names provided on one issue area tend to not be named on the other issue area, then it will be concluded that the power structure tends to be polymorphic.

On the other hand, if a chi-square of less than 3.84 is obtained, then it will be concluded that there is no relationship between the names provided on one issue area and the names provided on another issue area. It will be concluded that the frequencies of names provided on the two issue areas do not deviate significantly from a chance distribution. It will be concluded that the statistical analysis does not provide evidence for either polymorphic or monomorphic power structures.

This measure of the extent to which the power structure is monomorphic or polymorphic in nature is referred to as the knowledgeables index of polymorphic power. The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power was operationalized in Oak Town, Center Town, and Prairie City. This measure was not operationalized in Cornerville and Annville due to interviews with a limited number of internal knowledgeables in these two communities.

The epistemic correlation can be stated:

E.C.1 The extent to which power structures will vary by issue area will be measured by the extent to which the names provided by the internal knowledgeables on one issue area differ significantly from the names provided on another issue area. This measure will be referred to as the knowledgeables index of polymorphic power.

The following group of empirical hypotheses can now be stated:

Oak Town

E.H.1 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the county hospital issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.2 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the courthouse issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.3 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the county hospital issue and the courthouse issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

Center Town

E.H.4 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the economic affairs issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.5 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the courthouse issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.6 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the courthouse issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

Prairie City

E.H.7 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the economic affairs issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.8 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the politics issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.9 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the recreation issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.10 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the school reorganization issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.11 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the support of farmers issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.12 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the retail sales increase issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.13 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the politics issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.14 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the recreation issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.15 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the school reorganization issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.16 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the support of farmers issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.17 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the retail sales increase issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.18 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the politics issue and the recreation issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.19 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the politics issue and the school reorganization issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.20 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the politics issue and the support of farmers issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.21 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the politics issue and the retail sales increase issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.22 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the recreation issue and the school reorganization issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.23 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between recreation issue and the support of farmers issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.24 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the recreation issue and the retail sales increase issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.25 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the school reorganization issue and the support of farmers issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.26 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the school reorganization issue and the retail sales increase issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

E.H.27 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the support of farmers issue and the retail sales increase issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

During the third phase of the field procedure, the power actors were asked to rate other power actors and themselves on scales designed to measure social power. The scales consisted of 11 points on a continuum. The first point on the continuum was designated as no influence. The 11th point on the continuum was designated as very influential. The power actors in each community were asked to rate other power actors and themselves on scales in different issue areas.

In each of the four communities of South County (Cornerville, Annville, Oak Town, and Center Town), the power actors were asked to rate other power actors and themselves on the following issues: 1) general affairs, 2) economic affairs, 3) county courthouse, 4) county hospital, and 5) community fallout shelter. The issue areas in Prairie City (in Midwest County) were 1) general affairs, 2) economic affairs, 3) politics,

4) a civil defense exhibit, and 5) a planning commission. A second measure of the extent to which the power structures will vary by issue area was the degree to which the power actors perceived different persons as being the most powerful in comparing these issue areas.

The county hospital issue in South County involved a county action program to build a new county hospital. This issue occurred approximately 10 years prior to the time of the interviewing. In Prairie City, the Midwest County Civil Defense Exhibit[1] involved an action program culminating in an exhibit to inform the community about civil defense. This action program was initiated and implemented in the Prairie City community in 1961 which was approximately eight to ten months prior to the interviews with the power actors. Both the county hospital issue in South County and the Midwest County Civil Defense Exhibit in Prairie City involved past social action programs.

The current issue areas used to determine the extent to which power structures vary by issue area in South County were general affairs, economic affairs, and county courthouse. In Prairie City, the current issue areas were general affairs, economic affairs, politics, and the Midwest County Planning Commission. In rating other power actors and themselves in general affairs in each of the five communities, each power actor was asked to consider all the problems and projects which

---

[1]For a detailed analysis of the civil defense exhibit as a social action program, see Beal, Yarbrough, Klonglan, and Bohlen (4).

the community had had in the recent past. The framework for asking the power actors to rate other power actors and themselves in the economic affairs issue area was similar in each of the five communities. The social power which power actors were perceived to have in the economic affairs issue area was measured by asking each power actor to rate other power actors and himself as to the amount of social power he perceived each person on the rating scale list would have in obtaining or blocking a new business or industry in the community. The county courthouse issue involved a county action program to seek approval from the voters for a bond issue to build a new county courthouse. This social action program occurred in South County during 1962, approximately six months before the field study. The power actors in Prairie City were asked to indicate the amount of social power they perceived each power actor and themselves to have in politics. The Midwest County Planning Commission issue area involved a planning commission for Midwest County.

A fifth issue in the South County communities was a hypothetical future civil defense issue. The power actors were asked to indicate the amount of social power they perceived each person would have if the community was to build a public fallout shelter in the future.

In Prairie City, the power actors did not make a sufficient number of ratings in the Midwest County Civil Defense Exhibit and the Midwest County Planning Commission issue areas to make it possible to compare these two issue areas with the other three issue areas. Generally, the power actors did not rate other power actors and themselves due to the

fact that many of them had not participated in either of these two issue areas. While six of the power actors exercised social power in the civil defense issue area, the other power actors were not involved and lacked knowledge of the Midwest County Civil Defense Exhibit power structure. The power actors were generally not involved in the Midwest County Planning Commission. However, sufficient ratings were made in economic affairs, politics, and general affairs in Prairie City to permit an analysis of the power actors' perceptions of the most powerful individuals in these three issue areas.

A mean power value was determined for each power actor in each of the community issue areas. This value was calculated by 1) summing the ratings which other power actors made on each power actor and 2) dividing this total by the number of persons rating the power actor. The power actors' perceptions of their own power were not included in the analysis.

After determining the mean power values for each power actor, a comparison of mean power values between issues was made. In comparing and evaluating the relationship between two issue areas, a correlational analysis was used.

The significance level established for testing the relationship between power values assigned by power actors in different issue areas was the .05 level of significance. The calculated correlational value which was compared with the tabular (theoretical)value at the .05 level of significance depends upon the degrees of freedom. For example, for the correlation of 25 mean power values in Prairie City in two issue areas, there were 23 degrees of freedom. With 23 degrees of freedom, the tabular

value is +337.

The tabular (theoretical) correlational value for each community is listed in Table 3.[1]

At the .05 level of significance, one would expect to obtain a calculated value of correlation larger than the tabular (theoretical) correlational value presented in Table 3 only 5 times in 100 samples when in the population being studied there is no relationship between the two variables being compared. If the calculated value is larger

Table 3. Tabular (theoretical) correlational values for significance test in each of the five communities

Community	Number of power actors	Degrees of freedom (N-2)	Tabular correlational value .05 level[a]
Cornerville	16	14	+.426
Annville	14	12	+.458
Oak Town[b]	22	20	+.360
Center Town	18	16	+.400
Prairie City	25	23	+.337

[a]The probabilities given are for a one-tailed test.

[b]In Oak Town, 22 power actors were delineated, but only 19 power actors were interviewed. The 19 power actors, however, made ratings on the scales for each of the 22 power actors. Therefore, the number of power actors included in this analysis in Oak Town was 22.

[1]The tabular (theoretical) correlational values are taken from Edward (17, p. 362).

than the tabular (theoretical) correlational value, one is usually willing to conclude that there is a relationship between the two variables. The correlations comparing mean power values were statistically evaluated at the .05 significance level. It was concluded that a relationship exists if the calculated value of correlation is greater than the tabular (theoretical) correlational value presented in Table 3.

The epistemic correlation can be stated:

E.C.2 The extent to which power structures will vary by issue area will be measured by the extent to which the power actors perceived different persons as being the most powerful in comparing several issue areas. This measure will be referred to as the power actors index of polymorphic power.

The following 40 empirical hypotheses for the four communities will analyze the power actors' perceptions of the extent to which power structures will vary by issue area. Since the empirical hypotheses tested in each of the four South County communities were the same, the hypotheses are presented in Table 4 to simplify the process of stating the empirical hypotheses.

Table 4. The empirical hypotheses relating to the power actors indexes of polymorphic power

Empirical hypotheses	Numbers of the empirical hypotheses for each community			
	Corner-ville	Ann-ville	Oak Town	Center Town
The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the economic affairs issue will not be positively significant	28	38	48	58
The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the county courthouse issue will not be positively significant	29	39	49	59

Table 4. (Continued)

Empirical hypotheses	Numbers of the empirical hypotheses for each community			
	Corner-ville	Ann-ville	Oak Town	Center Town
The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the county hospital issue will not be positively significant	30	40	50	60
The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the community fallout shelter issue will not be positively significant	31	41	51	61
The power actors index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the county courthouse issue will not be positively significant	32	42	52	62
The power actors index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the county hospital issue will not be positively significant	33	43	53	63
The power actors index of polymorphic power between economic affairs issue and community fallout shelter issue will not be positively significant	34	44	54	64
The power actors index of polymorphic power between the county courthouse issue and the county hospital issue will not be positively significant	35	45	55	65
The power actors index of polymorphic power between the county courthouse issue and the community fallout shelter issue will not be positively significant	36	46	56	66
The power actors index of polymorphic power between the county hospital issue and the community fallout shelter issue will not be positively significant	37	47	57	67

The following three empirical hypotheses for the Prairie City community will analyze the power actors' perceptions of the extent to which power structures will vary by issue area in the Prairie City community:

E.H.68 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the economic affairs issue will not be positively significant.

E.H.69 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the politics issue will not be positively significant.

E.H.70 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the politics issue will not be positively significant.

In summary, this chapter has presented a brief description of the five communities selected for the study of social power, discussed various alternative approaches to the study of social power, stated the field procedures and instruments which were used for gathering the data from power actors about social power, derived the epistemic correlations or relationships between the conceptual level and the empirical level, and stated the empirical hypotheses that will be tested.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the data which is relevant to the testing of the general and empirical hypotheses which were generated in the previous chapters. Another purpose of this chapter will be to state conclusions based upon the data presented.

The personal and social characteristics of the power actors in each community are presented in Table 5 through Table 9.[1] These data will not be specifically used in the analysis, but are presented here to provide additional data about the power actors.

Findings

General hypothesis

Power structures will vary by issue area.

Knowledgeables indexes of polymorphic power

Oak Town:

E.H. 1 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the county hospital issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.[2]

---

[1] The comparison of the personal and social attributes of power actors with the personal and social attributes of a random sample in Prairie City are presented in a publication. See Bohlen, Beal, Klonglan, and Tait (9).

[2] Throughout the discussion of the knowledgeables indexes of polymorphic power in this chapter, significant refers to statistically significant.

Table 5. Cornerville: Selected personal and social characteristics of power actors[a]

Power actor	Years of education	Occupation	Years in residence	Political orientation	Average gross family income	Church affiliation	Age
Don Hamme	17	Grain elevator operator	17	Independent	$11,000	Methodist	35
Art Jacobs	12	Co-owner auto agency	11	Conservative Republican	6,500	Methodist	44
Jim Yorty	12	Restaurant owner	50	Conservative Democrat	9,500	Methodist	53
Ken Reichard	12	Bank president	42	Conservative Republican	15,000	Christian	48
Mert Langley	16	Farmer	20	Liberal Republican	6,500	Methodist	56
Will Harmon	15	Plumbing and heating, hardware, funeral director	52	Conservative Democrat	4,500	Methodist	52
Larry Milton	9	Mayor	37	Conservative Republican	2,500	Methodist	60
Jack Hamme	14	Grain elevator operator	42	Independent	11,000	Christian	42
Walter North	12	Small businessman	6	Independent	5,500	Lutheran	49
Herman Snow	12	Variety store owner	13	Independent	4,500	-	43
Frank Reichard	12	Independent oil jobber	52	Liberal Republican	11,000	Methodist	52
Ron Wilson	14	Grocery store owner	46	Liberal Democrat	5,500	Methodist	46
Kevin Snorr	12	Grocery store owner	16	Conservative Democrat	6,500	Baptist	51
Rex Morton	12	Sales manager	40	Conservative Republican	15,000	Christian	61
Dick Reichard	16	Independent oil jobber	22	Liberal Republican	6,500	Methodist	22
Mike Starr	12	Newspaper owner-editor	46	Independent	3,500	Methodist	46

[a]Names appearing in the next five tables are pseudonyms to protect the identity of the individuals who were interviewed in each of the five Iowa communities.

Table 6. Annville: Selected personal and social characteristics of power actors

Power actor	Years of education	Occupation	Years in residence	Political orientation	Average gross family income	Church affiliation	Age
Paul Redfud	8	Insurance owner	23	Liberal Republican	$ 5,500	Methodist	63
Gene Lewis	16	Insurance salesman	30	Independent	15,500	Methodist	52
Ray Guillory	12	Milk processor	53	Independent	11,000	Christian	53
Guy Boutte	8	Bank president	15	Conservative Democrat	7,500	Methodist	65
Glenn Hoskins	12	Gas company manager	45	Independent	4,500	Methodist	49
Henry Sims	16	Dairy manufacturer	10	Conservative Republican	13,000	Methodist	55
Harry Hunter	12	Mayor	75	Conservative Republican	3,500	Methodist	75
Vic Saucer	12	Postmaster	13	Conservative Republican	8,500	Baptist	39
Will Rancifer	13	Funeral director	17	Liberal Democrat	5,500	Presbyterian	49
Eugene Anders	12	Farm supply store	55	Conservative	5,500	Methodist	55
Bill Brewer	12	Construction company, auto supply owner	4	Liberal Republican	7,500	Methodist	33
Jack Stanley	12	Farmer	62	Liberal Democrat	4,500	Methodist	62
Dick Brown	12	Sundry store owner	9	Conservative Democrat	5,500	Methodist	48
Jay Ward	13	Retired farmer	84	Conservative Republican	3,500	Presbyterian	84

Table 7. Oak Town: Selected personal and social characteristics of power actors

Power actor	Years of education	Occupation	Years in residence	Political orientation	Average gross family income	Church affiliation	Age
Jerry Dennison	17	Newspaper owner-editor	15	Conservative Republican	$ 7,500	Christian Science	42
John Poole	15	Auto dealer	19	Independent	5,500	Methodist	24
Dick Ryan	17	School teacher	15	Independent	6,500	Methodist	38
Jack Williams	12	Bank cashier	18	Liberal Republican	6,500	Evangelican United Brethren	48
Barry Snee	14	Lumber mill owner-operator	9	Liberal Republican	9,500	Methodist	58
Will Blackwood	12	Grocery owner and farmer	40	Independent	28,500	Methodist	40
Jim Sanders	12	Barber	11	Liberal Republican	2,500	None	34
Elmer Manning	12	Postmaster	42	Liberal Democrat	6,500	Baptist	42
Louis Stewart	12	Department store owner	59	Independent	9,500	Methodist	61
Peter Coons	14	Gas station and auto repairs	20	Liberal Republican	4,500	Methodist	58
Paul Jamison	12	Confectionary store owner	39	Conservative Republican	4,500	Methodist	49

Table 7. (Continued)

Power actor	Years of education	Occupation	Years in residence	Political orientation	Average gross family income	Church affiliation	Age
Len Michels	12	School bus driver	43	Conservative Democrat	3,500	None	43
Bert Tyson	16	Banker	2	Independent	6,500	Methodist	27
Bob Mack	14	Utilities manager	2	Independent	4,500	First Christian	38
John Vincent	11	Deputy county auditor	40	Liberal Republican	3,500	Baptist	65
Ron Anderson	12	Insurance salesman	8	Conservative Democrat	6,500	Methodist	31
Bill Mattern	12	Retired mayor	24	Conservative Democrat	1,500	Baptist	67
Ralph McCullough	21	Doctor	4	Independent	35,000	Methodist	48
Frank Woods	12	Gas station and repair shop	48	Independent	7,500	Methodist	48
Joe Larson	14	Furniture, funeral home and feed store owner	44	Independent	-	Methodist	58

Table 8. Center Town: Selected personal and social characteristics of power actors

Power actor	Years of education	Occupation	Years in residence	Political orientation	Average gross family income	Church affiliation	Age
Carroll Crane	14	Banker	31	Liberal Republican	$11,000	Methodist	31
Wilbur Martin	18	Lawyer	36	Liberal Republican	11,000	Methodist	36
Roger Knight	16	Business manager	12	Liberal Republican	11,000	Methodist	37
Tim Martin	18	Lawyer-judge	62	Liberal Republican	36,000+	None	62
Larry Nichols	12	Bank cashier	54	Conservative Republican	10,000	Methodist	54
Marion West	12	Auto dealer	56	Liberal Republican	33,000	Methodist	56
Clarence Newman	14	Production manager	36	Conservative Republican	8,500	Methodist	36
Charles Newman	12	Manufacturer	77	Conservative Republican	18,500	Methodist	77
Floyd Frevert	17	Manufacturer	55	Liberal Republican	23,500	Methodist	60
Bob Gayle	14	Sewing machine dealer	56	Independent	10,000	Methodist	56

Table 8. (Continued)

Power actor	Years of education	Occupation	Years in residence	Political orientation	Average gross family income	Church affiliation	Age
Oscar Edgewild	16	Farm manager	26	Conservative Republican	18,500	Methodist	58
Ralph Stevens	13	Hardware dealer	16	Independent	18,500	Methodist	46
John Harris	12	Lumber dealer	28	Conservative Democrat	23,500	Methodist	62
Leonard Frost	18	Veterinarian	8	Independent	18,500	Catholic	36
Ted Porter	18	Lawyer	37	Liberal Democrat	9,500	Methodist	37
Barry Clark	14	Jeweler	4	Conservative Republican	5,500	Methodist	32
Everett Jackson	18	Lawyer	21	Liberal Republican	11,000	None	54
Bill Head	8	Retired farmer	45	Liberal Democrat	8,500	Methodist	45

Table 9. Prairie City: Selected personal and social characteristics of power actors

Power actor	Years of education	Occupation	Years in residence	Political orientation	Average gross family income	Church affiliation	Age
Dick Bolt	14	Banker	29	Conservative Republican	$28,000	Congregational	62
Roger Beem	13	Food store owner	17	Conservative Republican	23,500	Roman Catholic	44
Judge Unger	19	County judge	40	Liberal Republican	15,000	Congregational	47
Vic Hahn	16	President seed corn company (retired)	18	Conservative Democrat	18,500	Methodist	64
Frank Wink	12	Food store owner	17	Independent	9,500	Methodist	44
Elsa Riddle	16	Housewife	26	Liberal Republican	9,500	Methodist	50
Francis Edel	12	Farmer, state legislator	51	Conservative Republican	9,500	Metholist	63
William Fogle	15	President Fogle nurseries	57	Conservative Republican	11,000	-	57
Eli Fogle	15	Sales manager Fogle nurseries	33	Independent	5,500	Methodist	33
Dick Polton	14	Newspaper publisher	56	Conservative Republican	15,000	Methodist	56
Bill Doby	14	Insurance agency owner	44	Liberal Republican	13,000	Methodist	57
Lon Barton	17	Local school superintendent	18	Independent	15,000	Methodist	59
Ward Grey	13	Radio station manager	9	Independent	8,500	Methodist	59
Cary Holt	16	Variety store owner	59	Liberal Republican	28,500	Methodist	59

Table 9. (Continued)

Power actor	Years of education	Occupation	Years in residence	Political orientation	Average gross family income	Church affiliation	Age
Alvin Hall	19	Attorney	30	Conservative Republican	23,500	Congregational	59
Barry Polton	14	Newspaper business manager	31	Liberal Republican	11,000	Methodist	31
Tim Heinz	7	Farmer, elevator owner, banker	59	Conservative Republican	18,500	United Church of Christ	59
Alma Volt	16	Farmer	24	Liberal Republican	8,500	First Christian	49
Bryce Domm	12	Manufacturing company	16	Independent	15,000	Roman Catholic	43
Blaine Newell	12	Banker	14	Conservative Republican	23,500	Congregational	53
Jackson Bull	16	Farmer	40	Liberal Republican	6,500	Methodist	48
Paul Kohler	14	County extension director	14	Liberal Republican	8,500	Methodist	58
Jones Chilton	16	President hybrid seed corn company	14	Liberal Republican	18,500	Methodist	55
Van Fall	12	Farmer	33	Conservative Republican	4,500	Missouri Synod Lutheran	33
Barney Rollins	13	Assayer	27	Independent	9,500	Congregational	52

Table 10 presents the observed and expected frequencies of names for the economic affairs and county hospital issue area comparison.

The internal community knowledgeables named 25 different individuals in the economic and county hospital issue areas. Of this total, three were named on both issue areas. Twenty-two were named on only one issue area.

Table 10. Oak Town: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the economic affairs and county hospital issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	3	12.5
Only one issue area	22	12.5

If the 25 names were distributed by chance, one would expect 12.5 names to appear on both the economic affairs and county hospital issue areas, while 12.5 names would appear on only one issue area.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the economic affairs issue and the county hospital issue is 14.44 which is significant at the .01 level of probability.[1] An observation of the frequencies which appear in Table 10 indicates that the tendency is in the direction of polymorphic power. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

[1] $\chi^2 = \Sigma \frac{(O-E)^2}{E} = \frac{(3-12.5)^2}{12.5} + \frac{(22-12.5)^2}{12.5} = 14.44$

If the correction for continuity is included in the chi-square formula, only one of the hypotheses significant at the .05 level of significance becomes non-significant. The chi-square formula used to calculate the chi-square value in E.H. 14 included the correction for continuity. All other chi-square values were calculated by using the formula presented here.

E.H. 2 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the county courthouse issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the economic affairs issue and the county courthouse issue is 12.57 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. An observation of the frequencies which appear in Table 11 indicates that the tendency is in the direction of polymorphic power. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Table 11. Oak Town: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the economic affairs and county courthouse issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	3	11.5
Only one issue area	20	11.5

E.H. 3 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the county hospital issue and the county courthouse issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the county hospital issue and the county courthouse issue is .11 which is not significant at the .05 level of probability. Table 12 presents the observed and expected frequencies of names for the county hospital and county courthouse issue area comparison. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

Table 12. Oak Town: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the county hospital and county courthouse issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	5	4.5
Only one issue area	4	4.5

Center Town:

E.H. 4 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the economic affairs issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the general affairs issue and the economic affairs issue in Center Town is 6.25 which is significant at the .05 level of probability. An observation of the frequencies which appear in Table 13 indicates that the tendency is in the direction of monomorphic power. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

Table 13. Center Town: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the general affairs and economic affairs issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	13	8
Only one issue area	3	8

E.H. 5 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the county courthouse issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the general affairs issue and the county courthouse is .22 which is not significant at the .05 level

of probability. Table 14 presents the observed and expected frequencies of names for the general affairs and county courthouse issue area comparison. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

Table 14. Center Town: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the general affairs and county courthouse issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	8	9
Only one issue area	10	9

E.H. 6 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the county courthouse issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the economic affairs issue and the county courthouse issue is 3.56 which is not significant at the .05 level of probability. Table 15 presents the observed and expected frequencies of names for the economic affairs and county courthouse issue area comparison. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

Table 15. Center Town: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the economic affairs and county courthouse issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	5	9
Only one issue area	13	9

Prairie City:

E.H. 7 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the economic affairs issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the general affairs issue and the economic affairs issue in Prairie City is .18 which is not significant at the .05 level of probability. Table 16 presents the observed and expected frequencies of names for the general affairs and economic affairs issue area comparison. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

Table 16. Prairie City: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the general affairs and economic affairs issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	26	24.5
Only one issue area	23	24.5

E.H. 8 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the politics issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the general affairs issue and the politics issue is 18.46 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. An observation of the frequencies which appear in Table 17 indicates that the tendency is in the direction of polymorphic power. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Table 17. Prairie City: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the general affairs and politics issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	13	29.5
Only one issue area	46	29.5

E.H. 9 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the recreation issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the general affairs issue and the recreation issue is 4.92 which is significant at the .05 level of probability. An observation of the frequencies which appear in Table 18 indicates that the tendency is in the direction of polymorphic power. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Table 18. Prairie City: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the general affairs and recreation issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	18	26
Only one issue area	34	26

E.H. 10 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the school reorganization issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the general affairs issue and the school reorganization issue is 4.41 which is significant at the

.05 level of probability. An observation of the frequencies which appear in Table 19 indicates that the tendency is in the direction of polymorphic power. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Table 19. Prairie City: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the general affairs and school reorganization issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	21	29
Only one issue area	37	29

E.H. 11 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the support of farmers issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the general affairs issue and the support of farmers issue is 30.23 which is significant at the .05 level of probability. An observation of the frequencies which appear in Table 20 indicates that the tendency is in the direction of polymorphic power. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Table 20. Prairie City: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the general affairs and support of farmers issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	12	35
Only one issue area	58	35

E.H. 12 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the retail sales increase issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the general affairs issue and the retail sales increase issue is 11.00 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. An observation of the frequencies which appear in Table 21 indicates that the tendency is in the direction of polymorphic power. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Table 21. Prairie City: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the general affairs and retail sales increase issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	11	22
Only one issue area	33	22

E.H. 13 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the politics issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the economic affairs issue and the politics issue is 29.33 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. An observation of the frequencies which appear in Table 22 indicates that the tendency is in the direction of polymorphic power. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Table 22. Prairie City: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the economic affairs and politics issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	11	33
Only one issue area	55	33

E.H. 14 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the recreation issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the economic affairs issue and the recreation issue is 3.56 which is not significant at the .05 level of probability.[1] Table 23 presents the observed and expected frequencies of names for the economic affairs and recreation issue area comparison. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

Table 23. Prairie City: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the economic affairs and recreation issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	20	27.5
Only one issue area	35	27.5

[1] The correction for continuity was included in the chi-square formula for calculating the chi-square value for this issue area comparison.

E.H. 15 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the school reorganization issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the economic affairs issue and the school reorganization issue is 5.23 which is significant at the .05 level of probability. An observation of the frequencies which appear in Table 24 indicates that the tendency is in the direction of polymorphic power. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Table 24. Prairie City: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the economic affairs and school reorganization issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	22	31
Only one issue area	40	31

E.H. 16 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the support of farmers issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the economic affairs issue and the support of farmers issue is 38.37 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. An observation of the frequencies which appear in Table 25 indicates that the tendency is in the direction of polymorphic power. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Table 25. Prairie City: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the economic affairs and support of farmers' issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	11	38
Only one issue area	65	38

E.H. 17 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the retail sales increase issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the economic affairs issue and the retail sales increase issue is 12.00 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. An observation of the frequencies which appear in Table 26 indicates that the tendency is in the direction of polymorphic power. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Table 26. Prairie City: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the economic affairs and retail sales increase issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	12	24
Only one issue area	36	24

E.H. 18 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the politics issue and the recreation issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the politics issue and the recreation issue is 52.94 which is significant at the .01 level of

probability. An observation of the frequencies which appear in Table 27 indicates that the tendency is in the direction of polymorphic power. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Table 27. Prairie City: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the politics and recreation issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	4	34
Only one issue area	64	34

E.H. 19 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the politics issue and the school reorganization issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the politics issue and the school reorganization issue is 36.63 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. An observation of the frequencies which appear in Table 28 indicates that the tendency is in the direction of polymorphic power. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Table 28. Prairie City: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the politics and school reorganization issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	10	35.5
Only one issue area	61	35.5

E.H. 20 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the politics issue and the support of farmers issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the politics issue and the support of farmers issue is 39.41 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. An observation of the frequencies which appear in Table 29 indicates that the tendency is in the direction of polymorphic power. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Table 29. Prairie City: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the politics and support of farmers issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	10	37
Only one issue area	64	37

E.H. 21 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the politics issue and the retail sales increase issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the politics issue and the retail sales increase issue is 47.29 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. An observation of the frequencies which appear in Table 30 indicates that the tendency is in the direction of polymorphic power. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Table 30. Prairie City: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the politics and retail sales increase issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	2	27.5
Only one issue area	53	27.5

E.H. 22 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the recreation issue and the school reorganization issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the recreation issue and the school reorganization issue is 15.25 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. An observation of the frequencies which appear in Table 31 indicates that the tendency is in the direction of polymorphic power. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Table 31. Prairie City: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the recreation and school reorganization issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	16	31.5
Only one issue area	47	31.5

E.H. 23 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the recreation issue and the support of farmers issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the recreation issue and the support of farmers issue is 49.61 which is significant at the .01

level of probability. An observation of the frequencies which appear in Table 32 indicates that the tendency is in the direction of polymorphic power. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Table 32. Prairie City: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the recreation and support of farmers issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	7	37.5
Only one issue area	68	37.5

E.H. 24 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the recreation issue and the retail sales increase issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the recreation issue and the retail sales increase issue is 11.00 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. An observation of the frequencies which appear in Table 33 indicates that the tendency is in the direction of polymorphic power. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Table 33. Prairie City: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the recreation and the retail sales increase issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	11	22
Only one issue area	33	22

E.H. 25 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the school reorganization issue and the support of farmers issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the school reorganization issue and the support of farmers issue is 38.29 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. An observation of the frequencies which appear in Table 34 indicates that the tendency is in the direction of polymorphic power. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Table 34. Prairie City: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the school reorganization and support of farmers issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	12	39.5
Only one issue area	67	39.5

E.H. 26 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the school reorganization issue and the retail sales increase issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the school reorganization issue and the retail sales increase issue is 28.57 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. An observation of the frequencies which appear in Table 35 indicates that the tendency is in the direction of polymorphic power. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Table 35. Prairie City: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the school reorganization and retail sales increase issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	8	28
Only one issue area	48	28

E.H. 27 The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power between the support of farmers issue and the retail sales increase issue will be significant in the direction of polymorphic power.

The chi-square value for the comparison of the support of farmers issue and the retail sales increase issue is 52.56 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. An observation of the frequencies which appear in Table 36 indicates that the tendency is in the direction of polymorphic power. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Table 36. Prairie City: Observed and expected frequencies of names for the support of farmers and retail sales increase issue areas

	Observed frequency	Expected frequency
Both issue areas	3	32
Only one issue area	61	32

Power actors indexes of polymorphic power

Cornerville:

E.H. 28 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the economic affairs issue will not be positively significant.[1]

[1]Throughout the discussion of the power actors indexes of polymorphic power in this chapter, significant refers to statistically significant.

Table 37 presents the power actors indexes of polymorphic power for Cornerville. The correlation between the general affairs issue and the economic affairs issue is .797 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

Table 37. Cornerville: Power actors indexes of polymorphic power

Issue areas	General affairs	Economic affairs	County court-house	County hospital	Community fallout shelter
General affairs		.797**	.412	.542*	.714**
Economic affairs			.463*	.655**	.648**
County courthouse				.441*	.470*
County hospital					.256
Community fallout shelter					

*Significant at the .05 level.

**Significant at the .01 level.

E.H. 29 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the county courthouse issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the general affairs issue and the county courthouse issue is .412 which is not significant at the .05 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

E.H. 30 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the county hospital issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the general affairs issue and the county hospital issue is .542 which is significant at the .05 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 31 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the community fallout shelter issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the general affairs issue and the community fallout shelter is .714 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 32 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the county courthouse issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the economic affairs issue and the county courthouse issue is .463 which is significant at the .05 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 33 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the county hospital issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the economic affairs issue and the county hospital issue is .655 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 34 The power actors index of polymorphic power between economic affairs issue and community fallout shelter issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the economic affairs issue and community fallout shelter issue is .648 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 35 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the county courthouse issue and the county hospital issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the county courthouse issue and the county hospital issue is .441 which is significant at the .05 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 36 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the county courthouse issue and the community fallout shelter issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the county courthouse issue and the community fallout shelter issue is .470 which is significant at the .05 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 37 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the county hospital issue and the community fallout shelter issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the county hospital issue and the community fallout shelter issue is .256 which is not significant at the .05 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Annville:

E.H. 38 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the economic affairs issue will not be positively significant.

In Table 38, the power actors indexes of polymorphic power are presented. The correlation between the general affairs issue and the economic affairs issue is .944 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

Table 38. Annville: Power actors indexes of polymorphic power

Issue areas	General affairs	Economic affairs	County courthouse	County hospital	Community fallout shelter
General affairs		.944**	.788**	.744**	.757**
Economic affairs			.817**	.706**	.841**
County courthouse				.692**	.829**
County hospital					.777**
Community fallout shelter					

**Significant at the .01 level.

E.H. 39 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the county courthouse issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the general affairs issue and the county courthouse issue is .788 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 40 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the county hospital issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the general affairs issue and the county hospital issue is .744 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 41 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the community fallout shelter issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the general affairs issue and the community fallout shelter issue is .757 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 42 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the county courthouse issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the economic affairs issue and the county courthouse issue is .817 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 43 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the county hospital issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the economic affairs issue and the county hospital issue is .706 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 44 The power actors index of polymorphic power between economic affairs issue and community fallout shelter issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the economic affairs issue and the community fallout shelter issue is .841 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 45 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the county courthouse issue and the county hospital issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the county courthouse issue and the county hospital issue is .692 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 46 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the county courthouse issue and the community fallout shelter issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the county courthouse issue and the community fallout shelter issue is .829 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 47 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the county hospital issue and the community fallout shelter issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the county hospital issue and the community fallout shelter issue is .777 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

Oak Town:

E.H. 48 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the economic affairs issue will not be positively significant.

Table 39 presents the power actors indexes of polymorphic power for Oak Town. The correlation between general affairs issue and the economic affairs issue is .889 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

Table 39. Oak Town: Power actors indexes of polymorphic power

Issue areas	General affairs	Economic affairs	County courthouse	County hospital	Community fallout shelter
General affairs		.889**	.730**	.446*	.832**
Economic affairs			.669**	.199	.810**
County courthouse				.422*	.865**
County hospital					.345
Community fallout shelter					

*Significant at the .05 level.

**Significant at the .01 level.

E.H. 49 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the county courthouse issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the general affairs issue and the county courthouse issue is .730 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 50 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the county hospital issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the general affairs issue and the county hospital issue is .446 which is significant at the .05 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 51 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the community fallout shelter issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the general affairs issue and the community fallout shelter issue is .832 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 52 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the county courthouse issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the economic affairs and the county courthouse issue is .669 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 53 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the county hospital issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the economic affairs issue and the county hospital issue is .199 which is not significant at the .05 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

E.H. 54 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the community fallout shelter issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the economic affairs issue and the community fallout shelter issue is .810 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 55 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the county courthouse issue and the county hospital issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the county courthouse issue and the county hospital issue is .422 which is significant at the .05 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 56 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the county courthouse issue and the community fallout shelter issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the county courthouse issue and the community fallout shelter issue is .865 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 57 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the county hospital issue and the community fallout shelter issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the county hospital issue and the community fallout shelter issue is .345 which is not significant at the .05 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Center Town:

E.H. 58 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the economic affairs issue will not be positively significant.

Table 40 presents the power actors indexes of polymorphic power for the Center Town community. The correlation between the general affairs issue and the economic affairs issue is .937 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

Table 40. Center Town: Power actors indexes of polymorphic power

Issue areas	General affairs	Economic affairs	County courthouse	County hospital	Community fallout shelter
General affairs		.937**	.662**	.458*	.345
Economic affairs			.475*	.614**	.267
County courthouse				-.032	.377
County hospital					.049
Community fallout shelter					

*Significant at the .05 level.

**Significant at the .01 level.

E.H. 59 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the county courthouse issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the general affairs issue and the county courthouse issue is .662 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 60 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the county hospital issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the general affairs issue and the county hospital issue is .458 which is significant at the .05 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 61 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the community fallout shelter issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the general affairs issue and the community fallout shelter issue is .345 which is not significant at the .05 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

E.H. 62 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the county courthouse issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the economic affairs issue and the county courthouse issue is .475 which is significant at the .05 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 63 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the county hospital issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the economic affairs issue and the county hospital issue is .614 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

E.H. 64 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the community fallout shelter issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the economic affairs issue and the community fallout shelter issue is .267 which is not significant at the .05 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

E.H. 65 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the county courthouse issue and the county hospital issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the county courthouse issue and the county hospital issue is -.032 which is not significant at the .05 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

E.H. 66 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the county courthouse issue and the community fallout shelter issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the county courthouse issue and the community fallout shelter issue is .377 which is not significant at the .05 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

E.H. 67 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the county hospital issue and the community fallout shelter issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the county hospital issue and the community fallout shelter issue is .049 which is not significant at the .05 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Prairie City:

E.H. 68 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the economic affairs issue will not be positively significant.

Table 41 presents the power actors indexes of polymorphic power for the Prairie City community. The correlation between the general affairs issue and the economic affairs issue is .905 which is significant at the .01 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is not supported.

Table 41. Prairie City: Power actors indexes of polymorphic power

Issue areas	General affairs	Economic affairs	Politics
General affairs		.905**	-.177
Economic affairs			-.311
Politics			

**Significant at the .01 level.

E.H. 69 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the general affairs issue and the politics issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the general affairs issue and the politics issue is -.177 which is not significant at the .05 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

E.H. 70 The power actors index of polymorphic power between the economic affairs issue and the politics issue will not be positively significant.

The correlation between the economic affairs issue and the politics issue is -.311 which is not significant at the .05 level of probability. The empirical hypothesis is supported.

Conclusion

The general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area was operationalized in each of the five communities. In three of the five communities the knowledgeables indexes of polymorphic power were operationalized. The power actors indexes of polymorphic power

were operationalized in each of the five communities. The summary below for each community will present the conclusion onthe general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area. Following the conclusions for the five communities a general conclusion based on all five communities will be presented.

Cornerville: In Cornerville, the knowledgeables indexes of polymorphic power were not operationalized. The power actors indexes of polymorphic power were operationalized for ten issue area comparisons. The power actors indexes of polymorphic power for eight of the ten issue area comparisons were significant. These issue area comparisons were: 1) general affairs - economic affairs; 2) general affairs - county hospital; 3) general affairs - community fallout shelter; 4) economic affairs - county courthouse; 5) economic affairs - county hospital; 6) economic affairs - community fallout shelter; 7) county courthouse - county hospital; and 8) county courthouse - community fallout shelter. The correlational values for these eight issue area comparisons failed to support the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area. In these eight issue area comparisons, the power actors perceived the power structure to be monomorphic.

Two of the ten power actors indexes of polymorphic power were not significant. They were general affairs - county courthouse and county hospital - community fallout shelter. These two issue area comparisons supported the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area. The power actors perceived the power structure to be polymorphic for these two issue area comparisons.

Eight of the issue area comparisons were significant; these data failed to support the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area. On the other hand, two issue area comparisons were not significant. The data for the latter two issue area comparisons supported the general hypothesis. Since eight of the ten empirical hypotheses failed to support the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area, it was concluded that the general hypothesis was not supported. The power structure in Cornerville was monomorphic in nature.

Annville: In Annville, the knowledgeables index of polymorphic power was not operationalized. The power actors indexes of polymorphic power were operationalized for ten issue area comparisons.

The power actors index of polymorphic power for each of the ten issue area comparisons was significant. The ten issue area comparisons were: 1) general affairs - economic affairs; 2) general affairs - county courthouse; 3) general affairs - county hospital; 4) general affairs - community fallout shelter; 5) economic affairs - county courthouse; 6) economic affairs - county hospital; 7) economic affairs - community fallout shelter; 8) county courthouse - county hospital; 9) county courthouse - a community fallout shelter; and 10) county hospital - community fallout shelter. The power actors perceived the power structure to be monomorphic for these ten issue area comparisons. These empirical data failed to support the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area.

The data from the ten issue area comparisons did not support the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area. The power actors in Annville perceived the power structure to be monomorphic.

Oak Town: The knowledgeables indexes of polymorphic power for two issue area comparisons were significant in the direction of polymorphic power. They were: 1) economic affairs - county hospital and 2) economic affairs - county courthouse. For these two issue area comparisons, the knowledgeables perceived the power structure to be polymorphic.

The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power for the comparison of the county hospital issue and the county courthouse issue was not significant in the direction of polymorphic power. For this issue area comparison, the knowledgeables did not perceive the power structure to be polymorphic

Eight of the ten power actors indexes of polymorphic power in Oak Town were significant. They were: 1) general affairs - economic affairs; 2) general affairs - county courthouse; 3) general affairs - county hospital; 4) general affairs - community fallout shelter; 5) economic affairs - county courthouse; 6) economic affairs - community fallout shelter; 7) county courthouse - county hospital; and 8) county courthouse - community fallout shelter. The eight indexes failed to support the general hypothesis that the power structures will vary by issue area. For these eight issue area comparisons, the power actors perceived the power structure to be monomorphic.

Two of the ten power actors indexes of polymorphic power were not significant. They were: 1) economic affairs - county hospital and 2) county hospital - community fallout shelter. These data supported the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area. The power actors perceived the power structure to be polymorphic for these two issue area comparisons.

Two knowledgeables indexes of polymorphic power supported the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area, while one of the three knowledgeables indexes failed to support the general hypothesis. Eight of the ten power actors indexes of polymorphic power failed to support the general hypothesis, while two of the ten power actors indexes of polymorphic power supported the general hypothesis.

In Oak Town, there was not clear-cut support or rejection of the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area. While nine of the empirical hypotheses tested failed to support the general hypothesis, four empirical hypotheses supported the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area. Although there was not clear-cut support or rejection of the general hypothesis, the power structure tended to be perceived as monomorphic in nature.

Center Town: In Center Town, the knowledgeables indexes of polymorphic power for three issue area comparisons were not significant in the direction of polymorphic power. These issue area comparisons were: 1) general affairs - economic affairs; 2) general affairs - county courthouse; and 3) economic affairs - county courthouse. These data

failed to support the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area. The knowledgeables in Center Town did not perceive the power structure to be polymorphic.

Five of the ten power actors indexes of polymorphic power failed to support the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area. They were: 1) general affairs - economic affairs; 2) general affairs - county courthouse; 3) general affairs - county hospital; 4) economic affairs - county courthouse; and 5) economic affairs - county hospital. For these issue areas, the power actors perceived the power structure to be monomorphic.

The power actors indexes of polymorphic power were not significant for five of the ten issue area comparisons. The issue area comparisons which supported the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area were: 1) general affairs - community fallout shelter; 2) economic affairs - community fallout shelter; 3) county courthouse - county hospital; 4) county courthouse - community fallout shelter; and 5) county hospital - community fallout shelter. For these five issue area comparisons, the power actors perceived the power structure to be polymorphic.

Eight empirical hypotheses in Center Town failed to support the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area, while five empirical hypotheses supported the general hypothesis. As a result of these findings in Center Town, there was not a clear-cut rejection or support of the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area.

Prairie City: The knowledgeables indexes of polymorphic power in Prairie City included the comparisons of seven issue areas. These were: 1) general affairs, 2) economic affairs, 3) politics, 4) recreation, 5) school reorganization, 6) support of farmers, and 7) retail sales increase. For 19 of the 21 issue area comparisons, the knowledgeables indexes of polymorphic power were significant in the direction of polymorphic power. The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power for the issue area comparisons of (1) general affairs - economic affairs and (2) economic affairs - recreation were not significant in the direction of polymorphic power. For these two issue area comparisons, the empirical data failed to support the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area. The 21 issue area comparisons indicated that the knowledgeables in Prairie City perceived the power structure to be polymorphic.

One of the three power actors indexes of polymorphic power was significant. For the comparison of general affairs and economic affairs, the power actors in Prairie City perceived the power structure to be monomorphic in nature. These data failed to support the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area.

The power actors indexes of polymorphic power for two issue area comparisons were not significant. They were: 1) general affairs - politics and 2) economic affairs - politics. In these two issue area comparisons, the power actors perceived the power structure to be polymorphic. These empirical data supported the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area.

The conclusion was that the community knowledgeables and power actors perceived the power structure in Prairie City to be polymorphic. The empirical data in Prairie City supported the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area.

General conclusion

In Cornerville and Annville, the power structure was monomorphic. The empirical data in these two communities did not support the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area. There was not clear-cut support or rejection of the general hypothesis in two communities, Oak Town and Center Town. In Prairie City, the largest community, the empirical data supported the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area. The power structure in Prairie City was concluded to be polymorphic.

The general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area was not supported in two communities. In two communities, there was not clear-cut support or rejection of the general hypothesis. The empirical data from the largest community supported the general hypothesis. The conclusion was that the empirical data did not support the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area.

An intervening variable in the analysis of social power in the five communities was size of community. The populations for the five communities, according to the 1960 census, were: 1) Cornerville - 638; 2) Annville - 692; 3) Oak Town - 1,117; 4) Center Town - 1,687; and 5) Prairie City - 4,501. The inconsistent findings related to the general

hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue are in the five communities suggested that differences may occur in community power structures by size of community.

A comparison of the power structures by size of community indicated that the power structures in the two smallest communities, Cornerville and Annville, were monomorphic in nature. In both Oak Town and Center Town, the next two largest communities, there was not clear-cut support or rejection of the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area. The general hypothesis was supported in the largest community, Prairie City. In this community, it was concluded that the power structure was polymorphic; i.e., the power structure tended to vary from one issue area to the next issue area.

The empirical data from the five communities tended to support the hypothesis that community power structures are more polymorphic as the size of community increases. A comparison of the largest community, Prairie City, with the four smallest communities indicated that power structures varied to a greater extent in the largest community. The data tended to support the hypothesis that community power structures are more polymorphic as the size of community increases.

DISCUSSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Introduction

The general objective of this dissertation was to study, observe, and analyze the phenomena of social power in five Iowa communities. The steps followed in this dissertation were: (1) defining a problematic situation, (2) reviewing social theory and empirical research for the purpose of delineating and defining the relevant concepts to study social power, (3) postulating the expected relationships among the concepts in the form of hypotheses, (4) operationalizing the concepts in five Iowa communities, and (5) testing the empirical hypotheses in the five Iowa communities. Thus, an analytical framework was developed and utilized to guide the comparative study of power structures in different issue areas in five Iowa communities of varying sizes.

The purpose of this chapter will be to (1) present some general observations on the methodology used to delineate power actors, (2) present some additional data on power structures in different community issue areas which were not amenable to the hypothesis testing technique, (3) evaluate the methodology which was used to operationalize the concepts, (4) offer suggestions for future research, and (5) generate implications which will be of assistance in training change agents to fulfill their roles.

The following section will present general observations on the methodology used.

General Observations

Since similar methodology was used by Powers (45) in Center Town, Bohlen, Beal, Klonglan, and Tait (8) in Prairie City, Tait (53) in Oak Town, Marshall (31) in Annville, and Bohlen, Beal, Klonglan, and Tait (10) in Cornerville, it seems appropriate to evaluate the methodology which was used to identify the power actors in the five Iowa communities. In studying and analyzing the phenomenon of social power in a different cultural milieu, Hernandez (23) followed the basic methodology which had been tested in the five Iowa communities. Hernandez operationalized the social power model in five Mexican villages.

The general methodology used to identify the power actors in the five rural Iowa communities included three phases. They were interviews with: (1) external community knowledgeables, (2) internal community knowledgeables, and (3) reputed power actors.

In Center Town, one of the methodological problems Powers (45) encountered was the need for adjusting the field schedule as the interviewing proceeded. After conducting some interviews, Powers discovered additional community issues which would have been more useful from the research standpoint than some of those which were used in the field schedules. In general, Powers followed the field schedule which he had previously designed. Powers suggested that future social scientists studying social power need to spend more time gathering general information about the community from knowledgeables before using a formal data gathering instrument such as a field schedule.

Bohlen, Beal, Klonglan, and Tait (8) compared the Prairie City power actors' perceptions of the power structure in five issue areas, general affairs, economic affairs, politics, the Midwest County Civil Defense Exhibit and the Midwest County Planning Commission. In two of these issue areas (the Midwest County Civil Defense Exhibit and the Midwest County Planning Commission), the power actors did not make a sufficient number of ratings on the scales to make it possible to compare these two issue areas with the other three issue areas. Generally, the power actors did not rate other power actors and themselves due to the fact that many of them had not participated in either of these two issue areas.

While six of the 25 power actors in Prairie City exercised social power in the civil defense issue area, the other power actors were not involved and lacked knowledge of decision-making in the Midwest County Civil Defense Exhibit. The power actors were generally not involved in the Midwest County Planning Commission. Since the power actors were not involved in these two issue areas, the power actors' perceptions of the power structure in Prairie City were based on three issue areas (general affairs, economic affairs, and politics). These findings in Prairie City suggest that a more rigorous research design in delineating issue areas before constructing the knowledgeable and power actor schedules might have resulted in more issues involving action programs to determine the extent to which the delineated power actors particii-pated as decision-makers in community issue areas.

In Oak Town, the knowledgeables schedule was constructed to obtain names of persons whom the internal community knowledgeables perceived as being influential in the issue areas of economic affairs, county hospital, county courthouse, and general affairs. After having interviewed some internal community knowledgeables with the formal field schedule, Tait (53) identified other current community issues which included a school bond issue and a telephone issue. The latter issue involved the decision of whether to maintain the local telephone company under local ownership or to sell the company to a larger telephone company.

Since all the internal community knowledgeables who were interviewed provided data on their perceptions of who had power in the economic affairs, county hospital, county courthouse, and general affairs issue areas, the pool of reputed power actors was determined on the basis of responses to questions about these four issue areas and a question about those persons the internal community knowledgeables indicated they would talk to about a new idea to increase business in the community.

During the interviews in Oak Town, the power actors were asked to identify whom they perceived to have the most social power in the school bond and telephone issue areas. An analysis of the data indicated that four of the five top power actors in both the school bond and telephone issue areas were not among the pool of 22 power actors in Oak Town.

It is the author's judgment that formal questions should have been included in the knowledgeable schedule for Oak Town about the school

bond and telephone issues. If these issue areas had been included in the knowledgeable schedule, other reputed power actors would have been identified.

An additional implication from the findings in Oak Town, Center Town, and Prairie City is that the power actors who were delineated were not involved in all types and levels of community issues. With a few exceptions, the reputed power actors in Oak Town were generally not involved as decision-makers in the school bond and telephone issues. In Center Town, the power actors were not involved in the trading stamp plan or Old Settler's Day issues. The power actors in Prairie City were generally not involved in the decision-making related to the Midwest County Civil Defense Exhibit and the Midwest County Planning Commission.

These findings suggest that social scientists studying power structures in different issue areas in the future need to establish criteria to determine the relative importance of various issues to the community prior to the research. After establishing the criteria for determining the relative importance of various community issues, the social scientist should then determine the community issue areas to be studied. In the final phase of the research, the social scientist could then independently determine the extent to which the reputed power actors participated as decision-makers in the various community issue areas.

The evaluation of the methodology used to delineate the power actors in the five Iowa communities suggests that future social scientists studying community power structures need to spend more time gathering

information about the community from knowledgeables prior to developing a formal field schedule. Probe questions should be developed to delineate several past and present community issues. With the inclusion of several community issues which involved action programs in both the knowledgeable and power actor schedule the actual roles which reputed power actors played in decision-making can be determined.

Another suggestion for future power research is the need to study and analyze the interrelationships between power structures of different social systems which involve different issues, interests and constituencies. In two communities, Oak Town and Cornerville, different social systems were involved with different issues. Both communities are located near the borders of adjoining counties. School bond issues in Oak Town and Cornerville, for example, involved a different social system than the issues for the county hospital and county courthouse issues in South County. In both communities, the school social system overlapped county boundaries. The areas in adjoining counties which were part of the school social system were not a part of the social system involved with the county hospital and county courthouse issues.

In addition to spending more time gathering general information about past and current issues, it is suggested that social scientists in future research clearly delineate the social systems for the issue areas which are to be studied. If the issue areas and the social systems involved with those issue areas are clearly defined prior to constructing a formal knowledgeable schedule and interviewing the knowledgeables, the social scientist can be more precise in interviewing

knowledgeables in each of the social systems involved with the different issues. This would include knowledgeables both within the incorporated town and the outlying rural areas involved with the issues.

In each of the five communities, the geographic frame of reference was the incorporated town and the outlying rural area which was generally included in the primary retail trade area. Since these five communities are located in primarily rural areas of Iowa, it would seem logical that farmers might appear among the pool of power actors in each community. Of the 91 power actors who were interviewed, seven or 7.7 percent were directly related to farming. These seven power actors included five farmers, a retired farmer, and a farm manager. Two communities, Cornerville and Oak Town, did not have any farmers among the power actor pool. The data from the five communities revealed that the power actors predominately live within the incorporated limits of the town or the immediately surrounding geographic area.

One possible rationale that farmers did not appear among the power actor pool is that specific farm or rural issues were not used in the schedule used to interview knowledgeables. A second possible rationale is that farmers were not perceived to have as much social power as the individuals in the power actor pool. A third possible rationale is that more farmers who are knowledgeable about community issues need to be interviewed as knowledgeables. In Oak Town, for example, the seven knowledgeables lived within the incorporated limits of the town. A more precise research design which included more time delineating current

issue areas including issues involving the exercise of power by farmers and including farmers as knowledgeables in Oak Town might have revealed more data about the extent to which farmers exercise social power in community affairs.

While it is possible that farmers are not key power actors in most issue areas in rural communities, future social scientists doing research on community power structures in rural communities need to determine the extent to which farmers become involved in the decision-making process. An analysis of the data from the five communities suggests that future research of small rural communities needs to include some issues of particular orientation to both the rural population and the people living in the incorporated town. Such a research design would delineate the major roles that farmers play in the decision-making process.

The methodology which was used to identify the power actors in the five Iowa communities included the reputational technique. The validity of the reputational technique to delineate the persons who exercise social power in community affairs has been questioned by some social scientists. Polsby (39, 40) and Wolfinger (59, 60) have been especially critical of the reputational technique.

In both Center Town (45) and Oak Town (53), the general hypothesis was operationalized that the persons perceived to have the most power in an issue area through the use of the reputational technique will exercise social power in that issue area. The general hypothesis was supported in both communities. The power actors who were perceived to have the most social power exercised social power to affect the outcomes of

community issues.

Bohlen, Beal, Klonglan, and Tait (10) operationalized the general hypothesis that power actors will exercise social power to affect the outcomes of community issue areas in each of the five Iowa communities. The empirical data supported this hypothesis in each of the five communities.

These findings were accepted as evidence that the reputational technique is an adequate index of the actual exercise of power. The author agrees with the findings of D'Antonio and Erickson (15). In El Paso, they found through the use of the reputational technique that a group of general community influentials did in fact exist and that its existence has had important consequences for the community. It is granted to Polsby and Wolfinger, however, that there is the need to validate such findings.

Based on the evidence from the analysis of the community power structures in the five Iowa communities, the author agrees with Powers' suggestion that "...the need for future research, and the means of burying the issue of the reputational approach, would seem to be in expanding the research designs to allow for validation on a systematic basis (45, p. 135)."

In summary, the following suggestions from the standpoint of the general methodology used to identify the power actors in the five Iowa communities are made for future research efforts in studying power structures in rural communities. Social scientists in the future need to:

1. Spend more time gathering background information on the community and exploring the past and current community issues prior to developing formal field schedules.
2. Define the issue areas and the social systems involved with these issue areas prior to developing formal field schedules.
3. Study and analyze the interrelationships among the power structures of different social systems which involve different issues, interests, and constituencies.
4. Include issue areas of particular orientation to both the rural population and the people living within the town or village.
5. Determine the extent to which farmers participate and exercise social power to affect the decision-making process in community affairs.
6. Expand the research design to validate the extent to which reputed power actors actually exercise power to affect the community decision-making process.

Observations on General Hypothesis

The objective of this section is to provide some observations on the operationalization of the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area in the five Iowa communities. A second objective is to provide some observations and insights which could not be presented in the analytical framework of the previous chapter. A final objective is to make suggestions for future research relative to community power structures in different issue areas.

In addition to operationalizing the knowledgeables index of polymorphic power and the power actors index of polymorphic power, other data were gathered relative to power structures in different issue areas. The top power actors in Annville were also actively involved in the Annville Commercial Club (similar to a Chamber of Commerce). These top power actors were also active in another issue area, an annual event which was sponsored by the Annville Commercial Club. They played roles in initiating, planning and executing this annual event. These additional data provided further evidence that the power structure tended to be monomorphic in Annville.

The Oak Town power actors were asked to name the persons they believed to be the most powerful in both the school bond and local telephone issue areas. In addition, each power actor was asked to indicate the top five in order of influence in both of these issue areas. The power actors' perceptions of the power structure in these two community issues were compared with their perceptions of the power structure in the general affairs, economic affairs, county courthouse, and community fallout shelter issue area.

The degree of congruence between the top ten power actors in general affairs, economic affairs, county courthouse, and community fallout shelter issue areas and the school bond issue was 25 percent. The degree of congruence when comparing these four issue areas and the local telephone issue was 17.6 percent. These additional data supported the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area.

In the previous discussion on methodology used to delineate the power actors in the five communities, it was pointed out that different social systems were involved with different issues in Oak Town. Both the school bond and telephone issues involved interests and constituencies in the adjoining county in addition to Oak Town and the outlying rural areas in South County. The power actors on the school bond and telephone issues who lived in the adjoining county were not identified as power actors in the general affairs, economic affairs, and county courthouse issue areas. In both the county hospital and county courthouse issue areas the power actors who lived in the adjoining county and exercised social power to affect the decision-making on the school bond and telephone issue areas were not members of the relevant social system involved with these two issues. These data support the earlier suggestion that social scientists studying power structures in different issue areas in the future should study and analyze the interrelationships among the power structures of different social systems which involve different issues, interests and constituencies.

In Oak Town, there was not clear-cut support or rejection of the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area. The additional data from the comparison of the school bond and telephone issue areas with the knowledgeables indexes of polymorphic power and the power actors indexes of polymorphic power, however, provided evidence that power structures tended to vary when different social systems were involved with the issue area.

In Center Town, a comparison of the power structures in the county hospital and county courthouse issue areas with the power structures in two lower level community issue areas, a trading stamp plan and Old Settler's Day, indicated that the power structures varied.

While there was not a clear-cut rejection or support of the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area in Center Town, these data provided evidence that top power actors do not become involved in decision-making and action in lower level issues.

Powers (45) classified the county hospital and the county courthouse issues as major issues, while the trading stamp plan and Old Settler's Day were classified as minor issues. The following criteria were used in classifying the issues as major or minor:

1. The extent to which all people will be specifically asked and/or obligated to participate if an affirmative decision is made.
2. The extent to which an affirmative decision will require capital investment of more than $5000 on the part of the taxpayers.
3. The extent to which nearly all groups and/or organizations will be recognized as relevant in the decision-making process.

Although these criteria need to be further developed as a technique for classifying the significance of various issues to the community, they provide a means for possibly developing a single continuum which can be defined and used in future research. The author agrees with Powers' suggestion that a technique be developed whereby the respondents in the community determine where an issue falls on the continuum. In this way, the community would determine the significance of each issue area and where an issue falls on the continuum.

It is suggested that social scientists studying power structures in different issue areas develop a technique for determining the relevance of issues to the community. If the significance of issues is determined, then the social scientist can study and compare the involvement of the power structure in both major and minor issue areas.

In Prairie City, the power structure which legitimized and implemented the Midwest County Civil Defense Exhibit differed from the perceived power structures in general affairs, economic affairs, and politics. The power actors were not active in the Midwest County Planning Commission. These data were accepted as further evidence that power structures will vary by issue area in Prairie City.

In Annville, the additional data provided further evidence that the power structure tended to be monomorphic, while the additional evidence in Oak Town, Center Town, and Prairie City tended to support the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area. Additional data for issue areas other than the general affairs, economic affairs, county courthouse, county hospital, and community fallout shelter issue areas were not gathered in Cornerville.

On the basis of an analysis of the data in the previous chapter and the additional data on power structures presented here in different issue areas, social scientists studying power structures by issue areas need to:

1. Study and analyze the interrelationships among the power structures of different social systems which involve different issues, interests, and constituencies.

2. Develop methodological techniques for determining the relevance of various issues to the community.

3. Test the hypothesis that the lower the relevancy of the issue area to the community, the higher the probability of non-involvement of the top power actors in the decision-making process.

In testing the general hypothesis that power actors will exercise social power to affect the outcome of community issue areas in each of the five communities, Bohlen, Beal, Klonglan, and Tait (10) found that the power actors who legitimized or gave sanction to social action programs also tended to play leading roles at the execution or implementing stages of social action programs. In contrast to the findings from some of the power studies in large metropolitan areas in which the top power actors bow out after the legitimation stage leaving the execution phases of social action for lower level power actors or an understructure of power, the top power actors in these five rurally-oriented communities played roles at several different stages of social action programs.

For example, the judge in the Center Town community who was a top power actor in community affairs and a key legitimizer in the bond issue to build a new county courthouse, also played key roles in the execution stages of the county courthouse bond issue. In addition to his role as a legitimizer, the judge took two weeks off from court to personally organize other people to work in favor of the bond issue. Other power actors in the five communities played roles in both the legitimation and execution stages of social action programs similar to the judge in Center Town.

In each of the five communities, certain persons in the power actor pool were consistently perceived to be among the lowest group of power actors in the issue areas studied. Future power studies should delineate the roles which the persons perceived to have less power play in relationship to those perceived to be the most powerful in community affairs.

One suggestion for future research would be to study the interrelations among the power actors in a specified issue area. The decision-making or event analysis technique would provide the social scientist with tools to analyze thoroughly one or more issues. The analysis of the process by which the power actors make decisions and implement their decisions would contribute knowledge and understanding about the structured relations in community social power.

The major focus of this dissertation is power structures in five Iowa communities. In guiding this research, power structure was defined as that pattern of relationships among individuals which enables the individuals possessing social power to act in concert to affect the decision-making of the social system on a given issue area. Individuals working separately toward a common goal in the social system without communication among the individuals does not constitute a power structure.

Two types of power structures were also conceptualized, monomorphic and polymorphic. A monomorphic power structure is a structure of power in which the same persons are the most powerful in different community issue areas. A polymorphic power structure is a structure of power in which different persons are the most powerful in different community issue areas.

In operationalizing the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area, two operational measures were developed, namely, the knowledgeables index of polymorphic power and the power actors index of polymorphic power. It is the author's judgment that the power actors index of polymorphic power is a more precise and valid measure of the extent to which the power structure tends to be monomorphic or polymorphic.

The knowledgeables index of polymorphic power measured the extent to which the knowledgeables named the same or different persons as having power in comparing two issue areas. This operational measure did not discriminate as to the knowledgeables' perceptions of the amount of social power which they perceived each person to have whom they named.

In contrast, the power actors were asked to discriminate as to the amount of social power they perceived other power actors (including the additional names which they added) and themselves to have in different issue areas. The power actors index of polymorphic power compared the amount of social power the power actors were perceived to have in one issue area with the amount of social power they were perceived to have in another issue area. Thus, the power actors index of polymorphic power is more precise in that it measures amounts of social power rather than the extent to which the same or different names were provided by the knowledgeables as with the knowledgeables index of polymorphic power.

The concepts, monomorphic power structure and polymorphic power structure, are easier to define than they are to operationalize. One limitation to the power actors index of polymorphic power is that it

does not identify whether the power structure within each of the two issue areas being compared is monomorphic or polymorphic. In the research design used in this dissertation, the power actors index of polymorphic power measures the extent to which the members in the power actor pool are perceived to have the same or differing amounts of power in the two issues being compared.

Further inspection and analysis of the data within a single issue area suggests that the power structure within the issue area may or may not be polymorphic. For example, a careful inspection and analysis of the exercise of social power of the top ten power actors in the politics issue area in Prairie City as determined by mean power values suggests that the power structure within the politics issue area was polymorphic. The top ten power actors as determined by mean power values did not constitute a monomorphic power structure in politics, i.e., all ten did not act in concert to affect the decision-making of the social system in politics.

Political power in Prairie City tended to be polymorphic. Among the top ten power actors in politics were members of two opposing groups. Since each group consisted of members who acted in concert to affect the decision-making in politics, each meets the criteria of the definition of a power structure. While the liberal clique in the Republican party in Prairie City elected a slate of its candidates to the formal party positions in the county, the conservative Republican clique was able to by-pass the liberal clique to make recommendations to their congressman for filling federal positions in Midwest County. While each clique

acted in concert and exercised social power as a structure to affect decisions, it appeared that both cliques did not have equal amounts of social power to affect community decision-making in politics. On the basis of a limited number of descriptive examples of the exercise of power, it appeared that the conservative clique, although they did not have control of the formal party positions, exercised more power to affect political decisions.

While the two operational measures, the knowledgeables index of polymorphic power and the power actors index of polymorphic power, seem adequate for determining the extent to which the power structure is monomorphic or polymorphic when comparing several community issue areas, it leaves void the answer as to the structure of power within issue areas. The suggestion for future social power research is that it develop operational measures to determine the extent to which power structures within a given issue area have social power and exercise that social power to affect the decision-making process. Such a research design could focus on opposing power structures (polymorphic) in one issue area to determine how they affect the outcomes of decisions in a given issue area.

In their ideal forms, monomorphic and polymorphic power structures do not exist in the real world, although some social scientists have concluded that the power structures in the communities they studied approached these ideal types. In the future, it is suggested that social scientists develop a typology of power structures. In this study of power structures in the five Iowa communities, the power structures tended to fall on a continuum between the ideal forms of monomorphic and

polymorphic power. As noted in the conclusions of the previous chapter, it appears an intervening variable related to this was the size of the community.

The general objective of this dissertation was to study, observe, and analyze the phenomena of social power in five Iowa communities. In addition to generating further knowledge and understanding of power structures within communities, the author suggests that future social scientists studying community power structures also study the interrelationships of the community power structure to extra-community social systems. Form and Miller (19) conceptualized the institutional power structure of society as conditioning the community power structure. Economic, governmental, educational and other American institutions affect community power structures.

Warren (57) has emphasized the high-degree of vertical orientation from the local community to area, state, regional, and national levels. A research design which would focus on the vertical interrelationships, the flow of social power to and from the community, would further enhance the knowledge and understanding of local community power structures.

Another suggestion for future power research is the need to focus on more comparative power studies in different sized communities rather than focus on more single community power studies. Other social scientists such as Simpson (50) have suggested the need to focus on more comparative power studies in different communities. The research design in this dissertation focused on operationalizing the same general hypothesis in five communities. The findings suggested that differences

occurred in power structures depending upon community size.

In the operationalization of influence and authority in each of the five communities, Bohlen, Tait, Beal, and Kloaglan (11) found that the top power actors in the two smallest sized communities (Cornerville and Annville) also had the most authoritative power. In contrast, the top power actors in the three largest communities were generally not presently holding positions of authority. The findings in the largest communities supported the hypothesis that influence plays a more major role in total social power than authority. These findings which differed in the five communities suggest that further research needs to be done on different sized communities and different types of communities.

Finally, it is suggested that one or more of the five Iowa communities be restudied to study and analyze how community power structures change over time. Some social scientists such as the Lynd's (29, 30) who have focused on power or leadership as a part of the research design have been restudied. Some social scientists have chosen to study the same community which had been studied at an earlier point in time by other social scientists. A recent example is the study of the Atlanta power structure by Jennings (27). Regional City (Atlanta) was studied by Hunter (25) during an earlier time period.

Implications for Change Agents

One of the objectives in studying social power in five Iowa communities was to generate some implications which will be of assistance in training change agents to fulfill their roles. Since the findings

and conclusions about power structures in this dissertation are based on data from five rural Iowa communities, the implications in this section will appear to have greater relevance for change agents initiating and implementing social action programs in small social systems.

Successful community action efforts depend on the appropriate involvement of key leaders in the community. These individuals are often able to strongly influence the decision-making process on most community issues such as industrial development, urban renewal, school reorganization, zoning, recreational facilities and medical facilities.

It becomes essential that change agents such as ministers, teachers, extension workers, health planners, agricultural agency personnel, executive secretaries of Chamber of Commerce, and others have knowledge of and about key leaders in the community. Failure by change agents to legitimize their action programs with the relevant power structure has often resulted in key leaders blocking or failing to provide support to the action program.

One problem, particularly important to the change agent who has just moved into the community, is often how to determine who the key power actors are for different issue areas. In the methodology chapter, five alternative approaches to identifying power actors were presented. In addition to these five approaches, Jenkins (26) studied a random sample's perceptions of the community power structure. Thus, another approach would be to gather information from a random sample. Considering the time and financial resources needed, this alternative is not highly feasible for a change agent.

Jenkins (26) compared the community actors and power actors perceptions of power structures. He concluded that a random sample of community actors will select many of the same power actors as a "Hunter type" reputational study.

However, on the basis of his analysis, he concluded that asking a random sample runs a high risk of missing some of the "concealed" power actors and of giving too great a weight to the "symbolic" power actors. These two types, concealed and symbolic, are part of a classification of power actors used in research by Miller and Dirksen (35) and Bonjean (12). The three types are (1) concealed leaders--seen only by the top ranking power actors, (2) visible leaders--seen by all power actors, and (3) symbolic leaders--seen by the lower ranking power actors. The implication from Jenkins data is that the reputational technique is more likely to identify concealed leaders or power actors who work behind the scene to exercise power over various issue areas.

Powers (43, 44) has suggested that the reputational technique is a workable instrument for the change agent who wishes to identify the power actors in a community. In a publication, Powers (42) has suggested and outlined 11 steps which change agents may use in identifying the community power structure. The author of this dissertation agrees with Powers that "...experience has shown that change agents do gain new insights into the process of community decision-making if they follow the steps outlined in the following identification technique. This is particularly true if the change agent previously has been concerned with only one major segment of the community, such as agriculture, religion or education (42, p. 8)."

In addition to using the reputational technique to identify the community power structure, change agents may repeat the entire process at intervals of five to ten years. Change agents such as the County Extension Director who have repeated the process have found varying degrees of change in persons identified when comparing the original identification with the follow-up identification at a later point in time. Some County Extension Directors have found little change in the key persons identified, while others have discovered that significant changes have occurred. These observations from change agents suggest that social scientists carrying out research on community power structures need to study the changing nature of power structures over time. Such research would make a contribution to the knowledge and understanding of changing power structures and emerging power structures.

Several implications for change agents emerge from the findings and conclusions related to testing the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area. While the findings cannot be generalized to all rural Iowa communities, the comparative analysis of power structures in five rural communities provides social scientists and change agents with a more accurate perception of the probable nature of power structures in rural communities in comparison to a single power structure study. The implications derived from testing this general hypothesis should be helpful to change agents with responsibilities for carrying out both educational and action-oriented programs in communities.

The empirical data that supported the general hypothesis in the two smallest communities, failed to clearly support or reject the general

hypothesis in the next two largest communities and rejected the general hypothesis in the largest community suggest that the change agent should not assume that one power structure affects the decision-making process in all issue areas relevant to the community. In small communities under 1,000 population, one power structure may make the decisions affecting most community issue areas. Even in small rural communities, however, the change agent needs to be cautious in initiating and legitimizing social action programs in different issue areas through one power structure. If the change agent assumes that one power structure makes all the major decisions, the result may be a failure to initiate and maximize efforts to bring about social change in some issue areas.

In rural communities with a larger population base such as Oak Town, Center Town, and Prairie City, change agents will probably find that the power structure tends to be more polymorphic. While some power actors were generalized leaders (i.e., they appeared among the power actors perceived to have the most social power in several issue areas), other power actors tended to have high social power in only one or two issue areas. These findings suggest that the change agent needs to delineate the relevant power actors for the particular program which he desires to initiate and implement.

Change agents need to be aware that power structures may vary by issue areas and social systems. When issue areas involve different social systems, the power structures tended to vary. The change agent

needs to delineate the relevant power structure for the particular social system in which he desires to initiate and implement programs. The social system involved with school bond issues may differ considerably from the social system involved with industrial development or city government. Thus, the geographic area for the issue is a relevant variable for the change agent if some key power actors are not to be overlooked for the issue.

Change agents may find that the power structures will vary depending upon the level of community issues. In Center Town, the power actors who initiated and implemented both the county hospital and county courthouse action programs differed from the power structure which initiated and implemented the trading stamp plan and Old Settler's Day. In Prairie City, the top power actors in general affairs, economic affairs, and politics were generally not involved in the initiation and implementation of the Midwest County Civil Defense Exhibit.

Although this dissertation did not analyze the extent to which power actors in the five communities participated in different levels of issues, some evidence existed that the power actors perceived different levels of issue areas. Change agents need to be aware that the top power actors in major issue areas, such as a courthouse bond issue may not become involved in lower level issues. A relevant question for the change agent to ask is where does the particular action program which is to be initiated and implemented rank in importance among other community issues? An answer to this question may provide information that will help decide whether or not the top community power structure will be the key decision-makers for this issue area.

Finally, the additional data presented in the previous section of this chapter on the exercise of social power to affect the outcome of community issue areas suggests that change agents are likely to find that power actors in rural communities who legitimize or give sanction to social action programs also tend to play leading roles at the execution or implementation stages of social action programs. Based on the evidence from urban power research,the change agent initiating and implementing programs in metropolitan areas is likely to find that the top power actors bow out after the legitimation stage leaving the execution phases of social action for lower level power actors or an understructure of power. Change agents are likely to find differences among power actors in involvement in helping to carry out the decisions depending upon the size of community.

SUMMARY

The general objective of this dissertation was to study, observe, and analyze the phenomena of social power in five Iowa communities.

The specific objectives of this study were:

1. Define a social system model which is relevant to understanding social power and its relationship to the community.
2. Define a social power model which can be used to guide the study and analysis of social power in five communities.
3. Define the methodology used for the delineation of persons perceived to be power actors and affect the decision-making processes of the five communities selected for study.
4. Determine and compare the extent to which the power actors are perceived to have social power in different issue areas in five communities.
5. Generate some suggestions for future research in social power.
6. Generate some implications which will be of assistance in training change agents to fulfill their role.

The theory for the purpose of guiding the research defined social power as the capability to control the behavior of others. Sources of social power were defined as the various bases which give a power actor

the capability to control the behavior of others. The sources of social power were categorized into two major components of social power, authority and influence.

In addition to social power, other major concepts which were defined were power actors and power structure. Power actors were defined as the actors of the social system who were perceived to have social power and affect the community decision-making process.

A power structure was conceptualized as that pattern of relationships among individuals which enables the individuals possessing social power to act in concert to affect the decision-making of the social system on a given issue area. Two types of power structures were defined to guide the study of power structures in the five communities. A monomorphic power structure is a structure of power in which the same persons are the most powerful in different community issue areas. A polymorphic power structure is a structure of power in which different persons are the most powerful in different community issue areas.

A review of theory and empirical research indicated that the power actors who affect the decision-making process in one issue area may differ from the power actors in other issue areas. The expected relationships between power structures and issue areas were stated as a general hypothesis. The general hypothesis was that power structures will vary by issue area.

The procedures for identifying the power actors in each of the five Iowa communities involved three phases. During the first phase, external community knowledgeables were interviewed. The second phase involved

interviews with internal community knowledgeables. Through this process, 100 power actors were delineated in the five communities. During the third phase, 92 were interviewed with a formal field schedule.

Two operational measures were developed to test the validity of the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area. The first operational measure was the degree to which the internal community knowledgeables named the same or different individuals as having social power in different issue areas. This measure was referred to as the knowledgeables index of polymorphic power.

The second operational measure was the degree to which the power actors perceived different persons as being the most powerful in different issue areas. This measure was referred to as the power actors index of polymorphic power.

In the two smallest communities, Cornerville and Annville, the empirical data did not support the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area. There was <u>not</u> clear-cut support or rejection of the general hypothesis in the next two largest communities, Oak Town and Center Town. In the largest community, Prairie City, the empirical data supported the general hypothesis. The conclusion was that empirical data did <u>not</u> support the general hypothesis that power structures will vary by issue area.

An intervening variable in the analysis of power structures in the five Iowa communities was size of community. The inconsistent findings related to the failure to support the general hypothesis suggested that differences may occur in community power structures by size of community.

The empirical data tended to support the hypothesis that community power structures are more polymorphic as the size of community increases.

In terms of future power structure research, social scientists need to:

1. Spend more time gathering background information on the community and exploring the past and current community issues prior to developing formal field schedules.
2. Define the issue areas and the social systems involved with these issue areas prior to developing formal field schedules.
3. Study and analyze the interrelationships among the power structures of different social systems which involve different issues, interests, and constituencies.
4. Include issue areas of particular orientation to both the rural population and the people living within the town or village.
5. Determine the extent to which farmers participate and exercise social power to affect the decision-making process in community affairs.
6. Expand the research design to validate the extent to which reputed power actors actually exercise power to affect the community decision-making process.
7. Develop techniques for determining the relevance of issues to the community.
8. Test the hypothesis that the lower the relevancy of the issue area to the community, the higher the probability of non-involvement of the top power actors in the decision making process.

9. Study the interrelations among the power actors in a specified issue area.
10. Develop operational measures to determine the extent to which power structures within a given issue area have social power and exercise that social power to affect the decision-making process.
11. Study the interrelationships of community power structures to extra-community social systems.
12. Focus on more comparative power studies in different sized communities rather than focus on more single community power studies.

On the basis of the findings, several implications were derived for change agents. They are:

1. The reputational technique is a workable instrument for the change agent who wishes to identify the power actors in a community.
2. Change agents may repeat the process of identifying the community power structure using the reputational approach to determine the changes in power structures over time.
3. In small rural communities, the change agent needs to be cautious in initiating and legitimizing social action programs in different issue areas through one power structure.
4. In rural communities with a larger population base, change agents will probably find that the power structure tends to be more polymorphic.

5. Change agents need to be aware that power structures may vary by issue areas and social systems.
6. Change agents need to be aware that the top power actors in major issue areas may not be involved in lower level issues.
7. In rural communities, change agents are likely to find that power actors who legitimize or give sanction to social action programs also tend to play leading roles at the execution or implementation stages of social action programs.

LITERATURE CITED

1. Agger, Robert E. and Goldrich, Daniel. Community power structures and partisanship. American Sociological Review 23: 383-392. 1958.

2. Barth, E.A.T. and Johnson, S. D. Community power and a typology of social issues. Social Forces 38: 29-32. 1959.

3. Beal, George M. How does social change occur? Ames, Iowa, Iowa State University of Science and Technology Cooperative Extension Service in Agriculture and Home Economics (Publication) No. RS-284. 1962.

4. Beal, George M., Yarbrough, Paul, Klonglan, Gerald E., and Bohlen, Joe M. Social action in civil defense. Iowa State University Dept. of Economics and Sociology. Rural Sociology Report No. 34. 1964.

5. Bell, Wendell, Hill, Richard J., and Wright, Charles R. Public leadership. San Francisco, California, Chandler Publishing Co. 1961.

6. Bendix, Reinhard. Max Weber, an intellectual portrait. Garden City, New York, Doubleday and Co., Inc. 1962.

7. Bendix, Reinhard and Lipset, Seymour M., eds. Class, status, and power. Glencoe, Illinois, Free Press. 1953.

8. Bohlen, Joe M., Beal, George M., Klonglan, Gerald E., and Tait, John L. Community power structure and civil defense. Iowa State University Dept. of Economics and Sociology. Rural Sociology Report No. 35. 1964.

9. Bohlen, Joe M., Beal, George M., Klonglan, Gerald E., and Tait, John L. Community power actors and civil defense: a delineation of community power actors and an analysis of their civil defense attitudes, knowledge, behavior, and sources of information. Iowa State University Dept. of Economics and Sociology. Rural Sociology Report No. 40. 1965.

10. Bohlen, Joe M., Beal, George M., Klonglan, Gerald E., and Tait, John L. A comparative analysis of community power structures: a delineation and comparative analysis of power structures in five Iowa communities. Iowa State University Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology. Rural Sociology Report No. 50. 1967.

11. Bohlen, Joe M., Tait, John L., Beal, George M., and Klonglan, Gerald E. An analysis of influence and authority as components of social power in five Iowa communities. Unpublished paper presented at Rural Sociological Society meetings. Ames, Iowa, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Iowa State University of Science and Technology. 1966.

12. Bonjean, Charles M. Community leadership: a case study and conceptual refinement. American Journal of Sociology 47: 672-681. 1963.

13. Dahl, Robert A. Who governs? Democracy and power in an American city. New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Press. 1961.

14. D'Antonio, William V., Ehrlich, Howard J. and Erickson, Eugene C. Further notes on the study of community power. American Sociological Review 27: 848-854. 1962.

15. D'Antonio, William V. and Erickson, Eugene C. The reputational technique as a measure of community power. American Sociological Review 27: 362-375. 1962.

16. D'Antonio, William V. and Form, William H. Influentials in two border cities: a study in community decision-making. Notre Dame, Ind., University of Notre Dame Press. 1965.

17. Edward, Allen L. Experimental design in psychological research. Revised edition. New York, New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston. 1963.

18. Fanelli, Alexander A. A typology of community leadership based on influence and interaction within the leader subsystem. Social Forces 34: 332-337. 1956.

19. Form, William H. and Miller, Delbert C. Industry, labor, and community. New York, New York, Harper and Brothers. 1960.

20. Form, William H. and Sauer, Warren L. Community influentials in a middle-sized city. East Lansing, Michigan, The Institute for Community Development and Services, Michigan State University. 1960.

21. Foster, Michael B. Masters of political thought. Volume 1. Plato to Machiavelli. Boston, Mass., Houghton Mifflin Co. 1941.

22. French, J.R.P., Jr. A formal theory of social power. Psychological Review 63: 181-194. 1956.

23. Hernandez, Pedro Felix. An analysis of social power in five Mexican ejidos. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Ames, Iowa, Library, Iowa State University of Science and Technology. 1965.

24. Hobbs, Daryl J. and Powers, Ronald C. Leadership--what is it? Ames, Iowa, Iowa State University of Science and Technology Cooperative Extension Service in Agriculture and Home Economics Soc-1. 1962.

25. Hunter, Floyd. Community power structure. Chapel Hill, North Carolina, University of North Carolina Press. 1953.

26. Jenkins, Quentin Arthur Lot. Community actors' perceptions of community power structure. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Ames, Iowa, Library, Iowa State University of Science and Technology. 1966.

27. Jennings, M. Kent. Community influentials: the elites of Atlanta. Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press. 1964.

28. Loomis, Charles P. Social systems. Princeton, N.J., D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc. 1960.

29. Lynd, Robert S. and Lynd, Helen M. Middletown, a study in contemporary American culture. New York, N.Y., Harcourt, Brace, and Co. 1929.

30. Lynd, Robert S. and Lynd, Helen M. Middletown in transition. New York, N.Y., Harcourt, Brace, and Co. 1950.

31. Marshall, Billie Jo. Social power in Annville. Unpublished M.S. thesis. Ames, Iowa, Library, Iowa State University of Science and Technology. 1965.

32. Merton, Robert K. Social theory and social structure. Glencoe, Ill., Free Press. 1957.

33. Miller, Delbert C. Democracy and decision-making in the community power structure. In D'Antonio, William V. and Ehrlich, Howard J., eds. Power and democracy in America. Pp. 25-71. Notre Dame, Ind., University of Notre Dame Press. 1961.

34. Miller, Delbert C. Industry and community power structure: a comparative study of an American and an English city. American Sociological Review 23: 9-15. 1958.

35. Miller. Delbert C. and Dirksen, James L. The identification of visible, concealed, and symbolic leaders in a small Indiana city: a replication of the Bonjean-Noland study of Burlington, North Carolina. Social Forces 43: 548-555. 1965.

36. Mills, C. Wright. The power elite. New York, N.Y., Oxford University Press. 1959.

37. Northrop, F.S.C. The logic of the sciences and the humanities. Cleveland, Ohio, The World Publishing Co. 1959.

38. Parsons, Talcott. A revised analytical approach to the theory of social stratification. In Bendix, Reinhard and Lipset, Seymour M., eds. Class, status, and power. Pp. 92-128. Glencoe, Ill., Free Press. 1953.

39. Polsby, Nelson W. Community power: some reflections on the recent literature. American Sociological Review 27: 838-841. 1962.

40. Polsby, Nelson W. Community power and political theory. New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press. 1963.

41. Population of incorporated places in Iowa, 1900-1960. Iowa Agricultural and Home Economics Experiment Station, Dept. of Economics and Sociology AES Project No. 1497. April, 1962.

42. Powers, Ronald D. Identifying the community power structure. Iowa State University of Science and Technology Cooperative Extension Service in Agriculture and Home Economics. North Central Regional Extension Publication No. 19, NCRS-5 Leadership Series No. 2. 1965.

43. Powers, Ronald C. Power actors and social change. Part I. Journal of Cooperative Extension 5, No. 3: 153-163. 1967.

44. Powers, Ronald C. Power actors and social change. Part II. Journal of Cooperative Extension 5, No. 4: 238-248. 1967.

45. Powers, Ronald C. Social power in a rural community. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Ames, Iowa, Library, Iowa State University of Science and Technology. 1963.

46. Powers, Ronald C. and Tait, John L. Community Power Structure and Civil Defense. Presented at the Seminar on Application of Social Science Research to Civil Defense Problems. Ames, Iowa, Iowa State University of Science and Technology, May 15-16, 1967 [A detailed outline of the presentation is found in: Training Schedules and Teaching Materials: Seminar on Application of Social Science Research to Civil Defense Problems (Volume II).] Ames, Iowa, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Iowa State University of Science and Technology. 1967.

47. Presthus, Robert. Men at the top: a study in community power. New York, N.Y., Oxford University Press. 1964.

48. Rossi, Peter H. Community decision making. Administrative Science Quarterly 1: 415-443. 1957.

49. Ryan, Bryce. Social and ecological patterns in the farm leadership of four Iowa townships. Iowa Agriculture and Home Economics Experiment Station Research Bulletin 306. 1942.

50. Simpson, Richard L. Sociology of the community: current status and prospects. Rural Sociology 30: 127-149. 1965.

51. Smith, Adam. Class interest and public interest. In Bendix Reinhard and Lipset, Seymour M., eds. Class, status, and power. Pp. 19-20. Glencoe, Ill., Free Press. 1953.

52. Snedecor, George W. Statistical methods. Ames, Iowa, Iowa State University Press. 1956.

53. Tait, John L. Social power in a rural social system. Unpublished M.S. thesis. Ames, Iowa, Library, Iowa State University of Science and Technology. 1964.

54. Thometz, Carol Estes. The decision-makers: the power structure of Dallas. Dallas, Texas, Southern Methodist University Press. 1963.

55. United States Bureau of the Census. 1960 census of the population. Volume 1, Part A. Washington, D.C., United States Department of Commerce. 1960.

56. Vidich, Arthur J. and Bensman, Joseph. Small town in mass society. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press. 1958.

57. Warren, Roland L. The Community in America. Chicago, Ill., Rand McNally and Co. 1963.

58. Weber, Max. The theory of social and economic organization. (Translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons.) New York, N.Y., Oxford University Press. 1947.

59. Wolfinger, Raymond E. A plea for a decent burial. American Sociological Review 27: 841-847. 1962.

60. Wolfinger, Raymond E. Reputation and reality in the study of "community power". American Sociological Review 25: 636-644. 1960.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to take this opportunity to express his appreciation to those persons who have contributed to his graduate program and the development of this dissertation.

The author is deeply indebted to Dr. George M. Beal for his counsel, encouragement in times of discouragement, and intellectual stimulation throughout the author's graduate training program and more recently in the development of this dissertation.

The author wishes to thank Dr. Joe M. Bohlen for his encouragement and constructive comment in developing this dissertation on a comparative analysis of power structures in different communities.

Acknowledgement and appreciation are extended to Dr. Gerald E. Klonglan, Dr. Ross Talbot, and Dr. Eber Eldridge for their assistance and help in the development of a graduate program.

The author also wishes to thank other members of the research team who have made significant contributions to the study of power structures in the five Iowa communities. In addition to Dr. George M. Beal, Dr. Joe M. Bohlen, and Dr. Gerald E. Klonglan, the author wishes to thank Dr. Ronald C. Powers, Dr. Quentin Jenkins, Dr. Richard Warren and Mrs. Billie Jo Hoskins (formerly Billie Jo Marshall) for their contributions in conceptualizing social power, solving methodological problems, and gathering data on power structures in the five Iowa communities.

Finally, the cooperation of the community knowledgeables and power actors without whose cooperation such research efforts would be impossible, is acknowledged.